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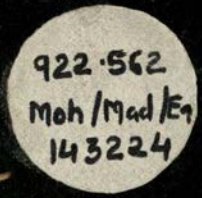
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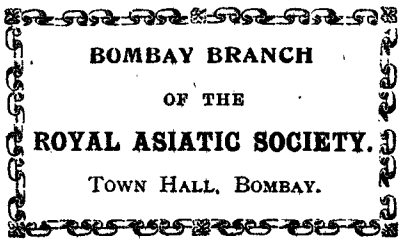

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EGYPT

AND

MOHAMMED ALI

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CONDITION

OF HIS

SLAVES AND SUBJECTS,

&c. &c.

143224

By R. R. MADDEN, M.D.

AUTHOR OF "TWELVE MONTHS' RESIDENCE IN THE WEST INDIES," "TRAVELS IN THE EAST," "SLAVERY IN CUBA," &c.

LONDON:

HAMILTON, ADAMS & CO., 33, PATERNOSTER ROW;

J. L. PORTER, 43, SLOANE STREET; AND JOSEPH SOUL, 27, NEW BROAD STREET.

1841.

Ref 326.962

923.562
Mah/Mad/E

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LONDON:
JOHNSTON AND BARRETT, PRINTERS,
MARK LANE.

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TO

WILLIAM BEATTIE, Esq., M.D.,

THIS VOLUME IS

Dedicated

BY HIS FAITHFUL AND AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,

R. R. MADDEN.

LONDON, JANUARY 6, 1841.

PREFACE.

THE Letters published in this volume on the subject of the government of Mohammed Ali, and of the condition of his people, recently appeared in the *Morning Chronicle.*

The interest that is felt at the present moment, in the settlement of the Eastern question, and the desire that is evinced for information on all matters connected with its adjustment, has induced me to give these letters, and some other papers, perhaps, of more general importance to the public in their present form. The strong impression on my mind of the weakness and decadence of the Turkish Empire, is too obviously manifested

in these letters, to render much further explanation of my sentiments necessary here. I consider the Turkish Empire as a political bankrupt in the hands of official assignees; and that it is the duty of those assignees to preserve the wreck of the property that is still left, from the cupidity of grasping claimants, or the fraudulent designs of those who are beneficially interested, not in the protection, but in the spoliation of the assets. On the subject of the slave trade carried on by the authorities—and it must be added with the connivance of the present ruler of Egypt—the information that is given is full and authentic; and that information can leave no possible doubt that the traffic is a source of revenue to the Pacha; and that he shelters the continuance of it under the flimsy pretext, that slavery being sanctioned by the law, it cannot be touched without obtaining the consent of the head of the law at the seat of Turkish government.

This deference for the law, and open defiance of the Sultan's authority, and that of the Sheik el Islam, or chief of the law, when declarations of war, or sentences of deposition are the matters for his consideration, are too obviously at variance to be admitted to co-exist. But what means are practicable to repress the Egyptian and Turkish slave trade? The Pacha of Egypt lays the fault of its continuance on the authorities at Constantinople, with whom rests the question of its legality or illegality. The Turkish authorities, on the other hand, throw all the blame of the traffic on the government of Mohammed Ali. The Sultan, they say, makes no slave-hunts, he exports no negroes. The slaves are caught and sent from Egypt by Mohammed Ali and his people to Stamboul. This is the way the odium of this traffic is bandied about between the Sultan and his Satrap. How is this solemn mockery of

disclaiming the guilt and participation in the gain of the slave markets to be got rid of?

•It is to be accomplished, in my opinion, by the influence of the British government at Constantinople, by obtaining from the Sultan a formal condemnation of the trade in human beings—of the practice of mutilation—of the buying and holding of stolen men, duly sanctioned by the Mufti, and making that condemnation of the trade, in all its bearings, apply to all parts of the Turkish Empire; and by making it a part of the terms entered into with the Pacha of Egypt, that the same prohibition should be strictly enforced in Egypt and its dependencies. This prohibition without entering into the abstract question of the legality of slavery itself, would be sufficient in a very short time to abolish slavery in Turkey and Egypt, it would die of inanition when the markets ceased to be replenished with stolen men.

On the subject of the recent persecution of the Jews at Damascus, I have entered into details which at this period might seem unnecessary, and even injurious to the persecuted people themselves to rake up the smouldering ashes of the remembrance of the wrongs they suffered.

This subject is one of higher interest than the question now of their guilt or innocence (and of the latter no doubt rests on my mind.) But the great question in my mind is, not whether the writings of the Rabbins sanction the use of human blood in their religious rites, (and I hope I may be permitted to express my firm conviction that it does not,) but whether there are persons or nations out of the covenant, relapsed Jews or Gentiles of any creed, designated by the name of Goi or Goihim, whom it is declared in the Talmud, it is lawful either to kill or suffer to perish when they have fallen into imminent

peril without rendering them timely help or assistance.

I have been too long and intimately acquanted with members of the Jewish persuasion not to be most fully assured, that there probably does not exist a Jew in this empire who would slay his fellow-man, or suffer him wilfully to perish for want of help, no matter what his creed might be. The question then, I take it, is not if rabbinical doctrines tinctured with the barbarism of former ages do exist in these books; Are they acted upon? For most assuredly, the Jewish "hands that are open as day to melting charity" in every Christian land for the relief of Christian suffering, are sufficient proofs that no such doctrines have any practical influence on the civil, or social conduct of the Jewish people. But the question is,—Are such doctrines atrocious? Are they acknowledged to be atrocious?

Finally, and especially, are they rejected as doctrines that are not stamped with the divine authority? These are questions that will be, and inevitably must be, plainly, and conscientiously, and distinctly answered in the breasts of many of the Hebrew people; and if the answer be expressed in words, the truth must be spoken, that the time is come when the good and the enlightened of their nation must boldly stand out from those antiquated expositions of the written law, which sanction those tacitly exploded doctrines of men who lived in barbarous ages; the crime of permitting our fellow-creatures of any clime or creed, in whatever darkness they may be involved, to be put to death or to be left to perish without rendering them assistance in their extremity. If these observations give offence to any person of the Jewish persuasion, that person must greatly misapprehend my purpose, and

cannot be acquainted with the intentions that are to be discovered in the writings of Mendellsohn, and with their tendency, dimly and even obscurely, as they are manifested in many of the productions of that able and good man. There is one individual, to whom, if I thought these observations would prove offensive, I will not say, I would suppress them, but to whom I can truly say, such is my opinion of the entire charitableness of his nature, and if I may use the term, the perfectly sectless spirit of his benevolence, that it would give me more pain to speak one word that might be distasteful or offensive, than I can possibly express.

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EGYPT AND MOHAMMED ALI.

LETTER I.

Mohammed Ali—His early life—Enters the Army—Appointed Governor of Egypt—Connexion with the French—Attempts to remove him—Treachery and slaughter of the Mamelukes—War with the Wahabees—Navarino—Invasion of Syria—Acre—Battle of Koniah—Approach to Constantinople—Recognised Governor of Syria and Adana—Renewal of War—Battle of Nezib—Propositions of the Four Powers—Count Waleski—State of Alexandria—Policy of France—Designs of Louis XIV. and Bonaparte.

MOHAMMED ALI was born in 1769, at Cavallo, in Roumelia. He was left an orphan at an early age, was protected by a wealthy Aga, became a dealer in tobacco, made some money in this trade, and married well. When Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt caused the Porte to collect troops from the different Turkish provinces, he placed himself at the head of three hundred men, and was appointed Syn Bashi, or colonel of this force. He was present at the battle of Aboukir, and was promoted to the

rank of Sarechesmi, a commander of a thousan men. Kourschid Pacha who was then governor Egypt, was at variance with the Beys, and harasse by his own Albanian soldiers. Mohammed A profited by this state of things, was employed b the Pacha, and managed to gain over the Alba nians, who were so hostile to his master. Kour schid discovered his views, and ordered both hi and the Albanians to return to their country. He feigned submission, allowed the refractory soldiers to persuade him to remain in Egypt, connived a the pillage of Cairo, the deposition of the Pacha and, apparently with reluctance, acquiesced in his own installation in the office of governor of Egypt. The Porte in the mean time, to get rid of him in Egypt, appointed him governor of Geddah in 1805 and subsequently sent a fleet against him; but a intrigue between the great friend of Mohamme Ali, M. Drovetti, the French consul, and the Cap tain Pacha, obtained for him the pardon and favou of the Sultan. This interference on the part of th agent of the French government with the Captai Pacha, it is well to keep in mind, and to compa this proceeding with a similar one, which recent placed the Turkish fleet in the power of Mohamme Ali. Captain Forde, of the British navy, now i the service of the Sultan, has evidence on which h

s reason to put the fullest reliance, namely, that t the pilot who was then on board of the French dmiral's ship, and who had been sent by Monsieur Lalande, the French admiral, on board the Captain Pacha's vessel, along with a French officer, to act s an interpreter, this pilot being a Levantine; and he day subsequently, having been discharged by he French admiral, was taken on board Captain Forde's vessel, and this information obtained from him, namely, the French admiral having fallen in with the Turkish fleet on the coast of Asia Minor, had communicated the intelligence of the death of he Sultan to the Captain Pacha—of Kosreff Pacha being made Grand Vizier—of this officer being supposed to be entirely in the interests of Russia—of the fortunes of the Turkish empire being then in the extremest peril; and, of the necessity of seeking an asylum in Egypt for the Turkish fleet. On this ntelligence, the Captain Pacha held a council of his fficers, and ended by carrying the fleet of his master to Alexandria, and placing it in the power f his greatest enemy. But, to return to the early istory of Mohammed Ali. He was hardly confirmed in his post, when the Porte, at the instance f the British government, sought to re-establish he Mamelukes in Egypt. A firman to this effect vas sent to the Pacha, and in lieu of his present

government, the Pachalic of Salonica was offered him; again he affected to submit, and again permitted himself to be persuaded by his soldiers to remain in Egypt: and in 1806, he was again restored to the favour of the Porte, on the condition of paying 4000 purses to the Sultan.

In 1807, we invaded Egypt; and our reverses on that occasion were, in a great measure, said to be due to the excellent plan of defence drawn up for the Pacha by Monsieur Drovetti.

In 1811, he was sufficiently strong to put his grand project of exterminating the Mamelukes into execution. The ceremony of the investiture of his son Toussoun with the caftan, on his taking command of the expedition proceeding to Arabia against the Wahabees, offered a favourable occasion. A royal banquet was prepared in the citadel, the guests were invited, between 400 and 500 of them came, and they were all, with the exception of one man, slaughtered in cold blood, in the sight and at the bidding of Mohammed Ali, whose memorable words on that occasion, "Vras, vras!" ("Kill, kill!") are not likely to be forgotten. This, in Egypt, was a reform—a getting rid of old enemies; and in the language of the sycophants, who at this moment crawl about the court of the Pacha, "The Viceroy used the right of legitimate defence."

For six years he made war on the Wahabees, and after wasting the resources of his unhappy country in this war, he triumphed at last, and gained a great loss by his success.

He now became ambitious of military renown. In 1824, he sent a large armament, consisting of 16,000 infantry and 700 cavalry, against the Greeks. The battle of Navarin lost him his fleet, and about one half of his troops perished in this expedition.

In 1831, he invaded Syria with 24,000 infantry, four regiments of cavalry, and from sixty to eighty pieces of cannon, avowedly to recover 6000 fellahs, or subjects of his, who had fled from the terror of his government, in the province of Charkyeh, in Egypt, to Abdallah Pacha, the governor of St. Jean D'Acre, to whom he wrote; saying, that "he would come to Acre to demand his 6000 fellahs, and to take them away, *and one man more!*" and he kept his word, for he carried away his fellahs and "the one man more," after a siege of six months.

No sooner had Acre fallen into the hands of Mohammed Ali, than he was declared a rebel by the Porte. In July, 1832, the battle of Koniah ensued between the Turks and Egyptians. Victory was again on the side of the Pacha, and it opened the way for Ibrahim Pacha to Constantinople.

Ibrahim, when his out-posts were at Kutaye was within five days' march of Constantinople, bu the remonstrances of Monsieur Cochelet wit Mohammed Ali, there is good reason to believe prevented the accomplishment then of the Pacha grand scheme; and Ibrahim's march on the Turk ish capital, was consequently deferred, but the intention, those about Mohammed Ali, acknow ledge, never was given up.

On the 14th of May, a partial arrangement was concluded, recognizing the Pacha in the govern ment of Syria and Adana.

In the mean time, the Sultan recovered suffi ciently from the blow inflicted on his power a Koniah, to be able to send another army into Syria under the Seraskier Hafiz Pacha, in 1839; and the battle of Nezib ensued, which seemed to have given the death-blow to the military character of the Turks, and left Mohammed Ali in the possession o the whole of Syria.

In August, 1840, a Turkish vessel of war arrive at Alexandria, with a Turkish envoy, and an Englis and Austrian agent, charged with the proposals o the Four Powers to Mohammed Ali.

These propositions it is unnecessary to detail suffice it to say, Mohammed Ali was called on t evacuate Syria, and to restore the Turkish fleet

The possession of St. Jean D'Acre for life, and the hereditary government of Egypt, were offered to Mohammed Ali in return. The Pacha had no sooner been informed of the expected arrival of the envoys, than he immediately set out for Mansourah on the Nile, to be out of reach of these persons on their arrival.

By this manœuvre he expected to gain time; and the policy avowed by the friends of the Pacha to be pursued by him in all future proceedings was, to procrastinate all negociations with the allied powers, and by gaining time, to take advantage of all the circumstances that might transpire and tend to embroil their governments; and thus eventually, by their mutual jealousies, to break up the coalition that was hostile to his interests. While the envoys of the allies were waiting the result of the Pacha's determination, the Count Waleski, a natural son of Napoleon, and late editor of the *Messager*, Paris journal, who had been sent out as an envoy to Mohammed Ali, from the French government, was not idle in spiriting up the poor old Pacha to reject the proposals; and they were accordingly virtually rejected, though in the usual style of Mohammed Ali's Turkish wisdom, in English duplicity—he nominally declared that he accepted the terms proposed to him; he simply retained Syria till he had

time to obtain the Sultan's consent to his humbl solicitation to be permitted to retain the govern ment of that country ; and with respect to the fleet it was merely held in safety for his master for th time being.

But this language did not pass current eithe with the envoys or the consuls, and the Pacha wa compelled to explain himself in somewhat plaine terms ; and after a devotional declaration that " h was in the hands of God, and his trust was in him," he signified to one of the consuls that " he ha won Syria with the sword, and he would keep i with the sword."

Such was the state of things in Alexandria when I was there, in the months of August and September last. Alexandria at that period resembled a place more in a state of siege than a peaceful city, devoted to commercial pursuits; its streets were bristling with bayonets ; the square in the Frank quarter was daily thronged with troops. The unfortunate Arabs were dragged from their homes in every town to be converted into soldiers ; their villages literally depopulated along the Nile, and they, poor wretches ! brought down in droves of fifty and sixty in a gang, bound with ropes, to be drafted into the different regiments. In Alexandria, the white adult male population was turned into a

ational guard, boys of thirteen, and fourteen, and pwards, forming a large portion of these troops. he Turkish fleet still continued under "the care" Mohammed Ali, and many of the Turkish sailors ad been removed from their ships and replaced by gyptians. From the Sultan's ship, the Mahudie, of 127 guns, out of the Turkish crew of 00 men, four hundred had been sent to Syria inst the insurgents.

The policy in France of spiriting up the poor old an who governs this country to resist all the vertures that have been made to him by England, as felt every day more and more. The Pacha's ole adviser was M. Cochelet, the French consul; nd, as a proof of this gentleman's successful influnce, and the approbation of his conduct in the ourse he had pursued, especially with respect to he events at Damascus, he had just received from is sovereign the cross of a commander of the egion of honour.

It is stated by Clot Bey, I know not on what uthority, but certainly with an air of truth about he statement, that Louis XIV. had a plan preented to him by the celebrated Leibnitz, for the eizure and conquest of Egypt. This plan occupied Bonaparte's attention on his arrival from Italy, and he arguments in favour of it are given in the fol-

lowing words, attributed to him :—" The principa
end of the expedition of the French to the East i
to lower the power of England. It is from th
Nile that the army has to go, that is to give a ne
destiny to the Indies. Egypt should compensat
for St. Domingo and the West Indies, and recon
cile the interests of the blacks with those of ou
labouring classes. The conquest of this provin
will lead to the loss of all the British establishme
in America and India. The French, once maste
of the ports of Italy, Corfu, Malta, and Alexandri
the Mediterranean will become a French lake."

The realization of this magnificent idea migh
seem too visionary a project to enter into the hea
of any sober-minded man in France, in the presen
posture of affairs, either at home or abroad; bu
there really appears to be nothing too wild o
visionary in the political speculations of the
admirers of Napoleon, and the persons who prid
themselves in being considered the followers out o
his extraordinary views. It remains to be disco
vered whether the failure of Algiers is to be com
pensated for in the imperial sense, by the perpetua
domination of French interests in Egypt; or whethe
a fortunate excuse for an honourable retreat from a
most unprofitable warfare on the shores of Barbary,
be sought in the acquisition of a more valuable
conquest on those of Egypt.

LETTER II.

Present Appearance and age of Mohammed Ali—His habits—Palace at Alexandria—Language—General Character—Family—Ibrahim Pacha—Toussoun Pacha—Ismail Pacha—Seid Bey—And Young Mohammed Ali.

MOHAMMED ALI is now in his 72nd year. He is hale and strong in his appearance, somewhat bent by age; but the energy of his mind, the vivacity of his features, and the piercing lightning of his glance, have undergone no change since I first saw him in the year 1825, nearly fifteen years ago. He is about five feet six inches in height, of a ruddy fair complexion, with light hazel eyes, deeply set in their sockets, and overshadowed by prominent eyebrows. His lips are thin, his features regular, extremely changeful, yet altogether agreeable in their expression when he is in good humour. At such times, his countenance is that of a frank, amiable and highly intelligent person. The motion of his hands and his gestures in conversation are those of a well-bred person, and his manners are easy and even dignified. He perambulates his rooms a great deal when he is at all disturbed, with his hands behind his back, and thinks aloud on these occasions. He sleeps but little, and seldom soundly;

he is said by his physicians to be subject to a determination of blood to the head, attended with epileptic symptoms, which recur with violence when he is under any unusual excitement. In the last difficulties, previous to his answering the proposal of the Four Powers, these symptoms made it necessary for his physicians to bleed him in the arm, and take away a pound of blood. One of these physicians had to sit up with him for some nights, and, as it is customary for the Pacha to do with his attendants, he called up the doctor several times in the night, to "tell him something," and the poor drowsy physician was frequently woke up with the habitual query. "Well, doctor, have you nothing to tell me?"

His palace at Alexandria is elegantly furnished in the European style, with chairs and tables, looking glasses, several pictures, and a large bust of the Viceroy himself. I noticed a magnificent four-post bed in his sleeping chamber; both the attendants who conducted me over the palace informed me it never had been used; he continues the old Turkish habit of sleeping on a mattress on the floor. He rises early—generally between four and five—receives every one who comes to him, dictates to his secretaries, and has the English and French newspapers translated and read to him, one of the

latter of which, is known to be the paid organ of his political views.

His only language is the Turkish, and he speaks it with the greatest fluency, and in the most impressive manner. In his conversation he is sprightly, courteous, and intelligent. On every subject he gives those about him the impression of a shrewd, penetrating, right-thinking man. He speaks very distinctly (thanks to the effects of English dentistry) and with remarkable precision. He is simple in his mode of living, eats after the European manner at table, and takes his bottle of claret almost daily. His manners are extremely pleasing, and his general appearance prepossessing; his expression, as I have before said, is that of a good-humoured, amiable man; but when he is disturbed in his mind, he seems not to have the slightest control over his feelings or over his features; and when he is displeased, his scowl is what no man would willingly encounter twice. A medical friend of mine, who had the *entré* of the palace, and had occasion to visit him at a very early hour the morning after the arrival of the Turkish fleet, which had just fallen into his power, found him at the dawn, alone, in his apartment, stationed at the window, gazing on those vessels which were destined for the destruction of his Syrian fleet, and which were now

quietly "reposing on their shadows" in his own harbour at Alexandria; and, as he gazed on them, very earnestly talking to himself, as if deeply engaged in conversation.

This gentleman could not help stopping for some moments, watching the working of the waking dream of Mahommedan ambition, and he expressed to me his great regret that he did not understand the Turkish language, thinking, with reason, that the words of Mohammed Ali, on such an occasion, would have been well worthy of attention. Probably the Pacha was at that moment busily engaged in conversation with the Grand Vizier, his old and implacable enemy, telling him that he had outwitted both his master and himself—that they had been long playing their old game of secret enmity, devoting all their energies to each other's ruin; and that while the Grand Vizier had been whetting his rage against him on the Kebla Stone of Mecca, and sharpening the sword of the old fanaticism for his destruction, he (Mohammed Ali) was studying the principles of modern Oriental diplomacy in another school; and the proofs of his proficiency in the new strategy of war, were to be found in the successful manœuvre which had lost the Turkish fleet to the Sultan, and had driven his prime minister from his post. This was a grand *coup* of

Egyptian policy. The Turkish fleet is at Alexandria, and the Grand Vizier is in banishment.

The palaces of the Pacha, both at Alexandria and Cairo, are elegantly, though not magnificently furnished. In the latter, I observed an excellent portrait of his son, Seid Bey; and several other pictures, which showed pretty clearly how the injunctions of the Koran are regarded by Mohammed Ali.

He has now three sons living.

Ibrahim Pacha was born at Cavallo, in 1789, and is now in his fifty-first year, middle-sized, extremely stout, and by no means prepossessing, either in his manners or appearance. His features are large, heavy, and marked with the small-pox. He is light-complexioned, grave-looking, and haughty and austere in his regards. He understands both the Turkish and Arabic languages, and speaks the latter fluently. His habits are not temperate; but latterly he has been more abstemious than usual. His health is greatly impaired by his excesses, and he is now labouring under symptoms of dropsy; in fact, it is difficult to say, whether his life or his father's is likely to last longest. He commenced his military career in 1816, against the Wahabees. In 1824, he commanded the expedition against the Morea; and since the year 1831, he

has been employed in Syria. Altogether, for nearly a quarter of a century, he has lived in camps, and is a fortunate soldier—a brave one, no doubt, and very little more. Of late years the ferocity of his nature has been a good deal softened down, and the sanguinary acts which he indulged in the perpetration of, in Arabia, and even in his own country, have not been followed up by similar enormities for some years past. It is said, that he is very inimical to his father's views with respect to manufactures, and that all his tastes are for agricultural improvements, and in the indulgence of these, he has introduced a vast number of foreign trees and plants into Egypt; indeed, his gardens and extensive plantations at Cairo are better deserving of these names than any others in Egypt. But it is to be feared, that all these improvements have no element of stability in them, and will die with him.

Toussoun Pacha, the second son of Mohammed Ali, died in 1813, leaving one son, Abbas Pacha, lately Governor of Cairo, and now commanding a part of the forces in Syria. He is of a cruel, crafty, and sanguinary character, and is detested by every one about him.

Ismail Pacha, the third son of Mohammed Ali, perished in the war of Sennaar. He left no children.

Seid Bey, the fourth son of Mohammed Ali, was born in 1822; is intelligent, extremely well educated, speaks, and reads, and writes the Turkish, Arabic, French, and English languages. He is very corpulent, ungainly in his appearance, and inactive in his habits. He has been brought up for the navy, and is destined to command the fleet of his father. When the British admiral was in Alexandria, in September, Seid Bey entertained him on board his corvette, and the admiral expressed himself highly gratified with the manner in which he commanded his vessel, and put his men through their exercises on board. He has been instructed by European teachers, and he certainly is indebted to Mr. Zeeling, his late aide-de-camp, for a good deal of his proficiency in learning, &c.

Mohammed Ali, a remarkably fine little boy, of about nine years of age, is the fifth, and youngest, and favourite son of the old Pacha. It is singular to see this little fellow with his father—he is permitted to take all sorts of liberties with him, and the contrast of this freedom is very striking compared with the solemn, formal nature of the interviews of Seid Bey, and even Ibrahim Pacha, with his father. The Pacha, amidst all the reforms he has introduced, has thought proper to leave untouched the old habit of exacting the most profound

submission from his grown-up children. When Seid Bey, who as yet resides in the palace of the women, or the harem of the Pacha, pays his weekly visit every Friday to his father, he enters the reception-hall with his eyes downcast, his arms folded, and dares not walk up straight to his father's presence, but makes the circuit of the divan slowly and abashed, and at length stops at a respectful distance before the Pacha, approaches and kisses the hem of his garment, retires modestly, and stands again with folded arms and down-cast looks; after an interval of two or three minutes the Pacha salutes him, beckons him to his side, and then he is permitted to talk to his august father. Strange to say, Ibrahim Pacha, old as he is, and with all his honours, goes through the same formal scene at every public interview, on each return of his from the army to Cairo or Alexandria.

LETTER III.

Judicial proceedings of Mohammed Ali—Mental energy—Advisers—Indifference to religion—Sir Moses Montefiore and the Author at his palace at the time of prayer—Their reception by Mohammed—Opinion of a Mussulman of distinction—The true character of the reforms by Mohammed Ali—Conduct to foreigners—Toleration of religion—Security of travellers—Decrease of crime.

THERE are things to admire in the character, the anomalous character, of Mohammed Ali. In his legal tribunals he discountenances venality, is disposed to have justice impartially administered, and leans toward mercy in all judicial proceedings; and capital punishments are seldom or never carried into effect. He is tolerant, moreover, in religious matters. This man was intended for better things than the circumstances in which he has been placed, and the people by whom he is surrounded have allowed him to attain to. Though his intellectual powers have been greatly overrated, he has qualities that ought to have made him, if not the founder of an empire, at least a prince whose power was not destined to be shaken in his latter years.

His bodily vigour is now, however, beginning to break down, but his mental energy is still unimpaired. The resources of his country have long

been embarrassed, and yet his ambitious views are more extensive than ever. He has wasted his treasure in foreign wars, and none of his conquests have any appearance of permanency. During the five-and-thirty years he has reigned over Egypt, he has wonderfully augmented the produce of the soil; and the people of his country are not only diminished in numbers, but impoverished and deteriorated in their condition. When he took possession of the government, the people were oppressed by their improvident rulers; but the removal of the Beys only paved the way for an organized system of well-regulated rapacity, such as the people of Egypt, all the periods of their misery and slavery, had never groaned under; and the government of the Beys, even when the country, by the badness of their rule, was most insecure for strangers, was a mild one for the people when compared by them, as it now is, with that of Mohammed Ali. It is impossible to consider these things, and to know the rude character and debilitated constitution of the person who it is supposed will be his successor, and not to conclude that the power of Mohammed Ali in Egypt will die with him, and all the efforts he has made to establish manufactures, and to make a great military power of Egypt, will prove abortive the moment he ceases to exist.

It was the misfortune of the Pacha, from the beginning of his career, to have been surrounded by bad advisers, by European counsellors, who had other purposes to serve than those of Mohammed Ali, and to whom the real prosperity of his country, or the condition of his people, was of no other importance than as their own political views were influenced by them.

Mohammed Ali had sufficient sagacity to see the glaring defects of Turkish government, and to perceive in the hostility of the Mahommedan religion to all innovation and reformation of abuses, the causes of that ruin which seems impending over the Turkish empire. He was bent on opposing this spirit of inertion, and on introducing all modern improvements in mechanics and manufacturing processes into his country. He knew not how to set to work, and, consequently, most of those improvements he attempted to introduce were not adapted to the capabilities of the country, or the genius of the people, and with few exceptions, he was obliged to have recourse to Franks of no great reputation to carry his desires into effect. These foreigners generally professed liberal opinions on all subjects, both of politics and of religion, so far as theory went; and on the latter subject, there was some practical liberality too, or liberation rather from all

fixed principles and received opinions; that is to say, they carried with them from their own country no feelings of attachment to any particular forms of religion, but looked upon all in the spirit of Volney and Dupuis; and as the Pacha derived his ideas of European civilization from these men, he in all probability derived also a portion of his freedom of opinion on religious subjects from the same source, and became indifferent to his own creed, and equally so towards every other. His own sagacity may have led him to perceive the defects of the Mahommedan religion, but it is more than probable, that without the counsel and example of these men, his policy would have led to his imposing himself on his people for a sincere believer in their faith, and he would have been a strict observer of the outward rites and forms of his religion for that reason alone. As it is, he makes no pretensions to devotion. On two occasions recently, when I have had interviews with him, in company with Sir Moses Montefiore, at the Magreb or hour of evening prayer, all the soldiers, officers, servants, and attendants of the palace were assembled at their devotion, in the large ante-chamber leading into his reception room, with all the pomp and state of oriental devotion. The devout Mussulmen were ranged in rows in front of the Imam, and a person duly appointed to perform

the service chanted certain passages of the Koran and forms of prayers in a full sonorous voice, that echoed through the spacious rooms of the palace.

The various prostrations of those assembled, their simultaneous movements and accents, and the deep solemnity of the look and manner of every individual engaged in prayer, had a very touching effect; but in the midst of all this solemnity, on one occasion, the Pacha made his appearance from his own apartment, walked across the hall, took no notice whatever of those assembled at prayer, but, seeing Sir Moses Montefiore and myself, and two other gentlemen, standing in a corner, he said, in a loud, good-humoured tone, beckoning with his hand, "Guel, guel" (Come in, come in), and we had to follow him into his grand saloon, to the manifest disturbance of all those employed in prayer. On another occasion, at the same time of evening service, while the prayers were chanting outside, we were engaged in conversation with his highness in the inner room. I trust I shall not be understood as censuring Mohammed Ali for not observing forms, the efficacy of which, there is reason to believe he has no great faith in. What I feel on this subject is, that the advantage is a very doubtful one of unsettling men's convictions in the truth of any religion, without leading them to the know-

ledge of another and a better creed, or at least inspiring them with respect for any other.

A Mussulman of high distinction in the service of the Sultan, who was my travelling companion on my return to Europe, in speaking of the great reforms undertaken by his late master, said, "If he had lived ten years longer, it was the opinion of the Ulemas, even of those who were in most matters favourable to his views, that he would have ended by destroying the religion, so great were the inroads he was making on its doctrines."

That such is the tendency of all those reforms which have taken place, and which are daily progressing, there can be little doubt. This religion was established by the sword, and civilization must prove fatal to it.

The tide of civilization has set in, both on Turkey and Egypt, and as fanaticism must be overborne by it, the empire which was founded on it must fall. Its fall may be deferred, and the confusion that its fall might occasion, may be obviated by such interference as will repress the violence or cupidity of those who are waiting for the spoil of Turkey and its dependencies, but the downfal is certain, and they are tending towards it by an invincible necessity.

The old adage, *aut deus aut demon*, is proverbially

true in the estimate we find made of Mohammed Ali by those in Egypt, who fortunately for them, are not the subjects of his highness, and those who most unfortunately for themselves are his subjects. This observation does not apply to his official agents and the members of his family. His conduct towards them must be considered apart. He is a good master to the former, and in his domestic relations he is an amiable, and even an estimable man. The foreigners in Egypt have much to be grateful to him for. The free exercise of every religion is tolerated by him, and the different sects whose members hate one another in proportion to the approximation of their tenets, and whose animosity, I might say, is in a ratio with the slightness of the shades of difference in the doctrines which separate their creeds, are prevented in Egypt by the vigorous hand of Mohammed Ali, from persecuting one another; and it is only in the great strong holds of fanaticism, such as Damascus, in which his power is too weak to keep the separate sects from publicly harassing, anathematizing, and even killing one another—where their hatred is suf fered to lead to very glaring acts of injustice and persecution.

Travellers, so far as their personal safety is concerned, have reason to speak in the highest terms of

the security afforded them by the measures of Mohammed Ali, for their protection in every part of Egypt. I do not know any European country where one may travel with greater safety than in Egypt. Robberies, and murders for the sake of plunder, are almost unknown. In this respect Mohammed Ali has certainly effected much; but the means by which he has effected so much, and the terrible acts of indiscriminate vengeance inflicted on the innocent as well as the guilty, whenever any village or district is the scene of an outrage which is brought to his notice, are of so Turkish a character, that it may be as unjustifiable for a European to form a notion of their merits or demerits by any European standard, as it would be unfair to draw inferences of an enlightened policy, according to our ideas of it, from the security that is obtained by means that in our eyes are barbarous and unjust.

LETTER IV.

The opinions entertained of Mohammed Ali by officials in Egypt, and Foreigners engaged in commerce—The Fellahs—Their cruel oppression—the landholder—Compelled to sell to the Pacha at his own price—Treasury orders for payment of labour—Time of payment—Discount—Final loss — Women compelled to labour—Hatred of his people to him—Mutilations to avoid being taken for soldiers—Insubordination of the National Guard—Leaders wanted—Probable effect of an outbreak or death of Mohammed Ali.

THERE are two classes of people in Egypt, who naturally enough, viewing the character and government of Mohammed Ali through the medium of their separate intesests, form very different opinions of them, and, perhaps, naturally enough speak of the man and his doings as they find them; consequently, the interests being different, one class look upon him with admiration, and the other with abhorrence; and each party gets angry with the other for this difference of opinion, forgetting the difference of interests; and both parties hate one another very cordially.

The one class consists of the people in official stations, Frank and Turkish, and the foreigners engaged in commercial pursuits. The other class

consists of the fellahs, the people who cultivate the soil, and are bound to it as serfs held in feudal vassalage.

The former class has been favoured by the Pacha, its merchants especially have been particularly favoured, all of them have had opportunities of making money, in a shorter period, than they would have had in any other foreign place of commerce. The officials, Franks and Turkish, generally speaking, are adventurers from different countries, holding various offices; the former, as physicians, engineers, naval and military instructors, few of whom have been educated, or brought up to the particular professions they have adopted here; the latter, as military and naval officers, collectors of taxes, gatherers of produce, overseers, and ministers of justice in the rural districts, *i. e.*, instruments of terror, and agents of oppression in the sight of every peasant in the land.

The whole of this class, commercial and official, and all their dependents, are violent partisans of Mohammed Ali. They extol his wisdom, they applaud his sayings and doings, "to the very echo which doth applaud again." The commercial people are, more than the official, bound up with his interests (their payments for his cotton being always a crop in advance); they, therefore, contend for

the justice and magnanimity of his views with a violence proportioned to the property they have at stake, and for the necessity of his dismemberment of the Turkish empire, with an earnestness that imposes on many for the sober conviction of plain, practical men, whose experience is entiled to respect. Their interests, however, are promoted by Mohammed Ali, and for this potent reason—there never was such a governor of Egypt, so great a reformer of abuses, so good and wise a ruler, as Mohammed Ali.

The other order, the fellahs, the people of the land, the slave or serf class, being ground down to the earth by the heavy hand of oppression, entertain, perhaps, with sufficient reason, very different sentiments towards Mohammed Ali; for they are, literally famishing, at the present hour, in the midst of plenty. The fertility of the soil is an absolute curse to them, for they derive no advantage from its cultivation; and the more it produces, the greater sufferings the labour it requires entails on them. They receive no protection from Mohammed Ali, so long as his Turkish officers plunder them without mercy for his advantage, and not for theirs; their chiefs are compelled to take the land and themselves on hire, which the Pacha farms out—for they are *adscripti glebæ*, and let with the

soil—and the whole land of Egypt, with a few exceptions, belongs to his highness. These exceptions are in the cases of persons whose titles to small landed property, his highness found difficulties in the way of getting rid of, at a time when there was advantage in possessing these lands, so they retained them; but now they do so when there is no advantage in the cultivation of the soil, except for Mohammed Ali. Every date tree, on those lands is heavily taxed—every kind of produce is similarly burdened, and the farmer is compelled to sell him the produce at his own price. The harvest may fail, the crops may be scanty, the date trees may be blighted, and no proceeds to pay the taxes. The unfortunate holder of the land pays in person, when he cannot pay in purse; he is flogged with a severity proportioned to the largeness of the sum he is unable to pay; and as it generally happens, he attributes the blight of the trees, or the scantiness of the crop, to the remissness of the fellahs in irrigating the land: the unlucky fellahs are laid hold of by the soldiers, and they are beaten with sticks, or scourged on the naked feet and legs with the courbash; and there is not a village in Egypt where these periodical atrocities are not perpetrated by the servants of Mohammed Ali. But those who are compelled to

farm the land of the Pacha receive the seed to sow it from his highness, and the cattle likewise to till the ground; these are regularly charged against them, and when the harvest comes round, the agents of the Pacha are stationed in every district, visiting every farm, and seeing that not one grain of the produce is converted to the use of the grower of it.

No sooner is it gathered in, than it is taken by the Pacha at his own price. That price barely allows the cultivator of the soil to drag out a miserable existence; and even the payment he receives subjects him to new embarrassment, and ultimately to considerable loss, on the sum he is nominally entitled to receive. He receives from the Pacha's agent an order on the Treasury for the amount of the produce he has sold. That order, or "tuskere," is said to be payable on demand; but the treasury of Mohammed is not remarkable for the punctuality of its payments, and six months, or even twelve may elapse, before these "tuskeries" are paid. The troops of his highness that have recently been brought down from the Hedjaz have not received their pay for thirty months. It may be imagined that the "fellahs" without muskets in their hands, do not fare much better in this respect, than the fellahs who are soldiers. They sell these "tus-

keries" to the Jews and Armenians in the large towns, for twenty or thirty per cent. less than their real value, or they get them changed by consenting to take half the amount in goods; and at the prices of the vendor of them. It may be concluded, what a heavy discount is paid by the unfortunate sheik, or farming fellah, for the cashing of this order on the treasury.

The constant punishments that are going on in every town and village, in the harvest time, and even now, of women—the carrying off of the male inhabitants to make soldiers of them—the new practice of compelling the women to do the hardest labour of the men, namely, working on the banks of the Nile, at the "shadoof," standing up to their knees in water, and irrigating the lands by means of a long pole with a bucket attached to one end of it, and a counterpoising weight at the other; and where the women refuse to perform this new kind of labour, to which they were never before subjected, frequent scourgings, and the abandoning of whole villages, on the part of the wretched people, to escape from the intolerable cruelty of the agents of Mohammed Ali, in all the provinces; these things have driven the people mad, and I verily believe, from one end of Egypt to the other, there is not a man, woman, or child, capable of labour-

ing, that does not execrate the name of Mohammed Ali.

There is no mistake about this; go where one may, there is nothing but curses on his head, and even frightful wishes expressed for vengeance on him and all his family. One of these people, openly declared in a boat, when I was recently going up the Nile, that "he would die happy if he could cut the throat of Mohammed Ali and drink his blood." This demoniac sentiment was spoken aloud in the presence of thirteen or fourteen Arabs, and every man of them hailed the wish as the sentiment of his own mind. The unfortunate wretch who expressed it, had voluntarily deprived himself of an eye, to escape being taken by the Pacha for a soldier. Another of our boatmen was minus a finger for the same object, and several had their front teeth extracted, in order that they might be declared unfit for service, in consequence of being found incapable of biting the cartridge. Two gentlemen, well known in London, Mr. Wire, the late under-sheriff, and Mr. Doyle, were present when these wishes were expressed; and when one of the national guard of Alexandria declared that his comrades desired nothing better than the coming of the English to Alexandria, and that their resolution was taken, whenever the English

came, to throw down their arms. Notions and resolutions of this kind are so prevalent, and so publicly expressed, that it is impossible they have not come to the ears of Mohammed Ali. In fact, they cannot be dealt with, they are so general.

In two instances, while I was in Egypt, the insubordination of the national guard amounted to mutiny; in one instance, at Cairo, in a body they resisted the orders of their officers; at Alexandria, on a similar occasion, they did the same; but the Pacha, who formerly would have made a signal example of every man of them who dared to offer resistance to his authority, was constrained on both occasions to hush up the matter, and to bide his time for retribution. God help the offenders when that time comes.

The people of Egypt are ready and willing enough to cast off the yoke of the Pacha, and they would be able to do so, if there was one man of their class capable of concerting measures for the union of the inhabitants of the country. But they have no leaders, and those who would be most likely to become their leaders, the Pacha has taken good care to make the instruments of his oppression, namely, the Sheiks el Belled, or the head people of the fellah class, whom he has made the rulers of the villages. These persons he has rendered odious to

the fellahs, and as they are the only persons of their tribes who have received an education, the people are without leaders.

In the present state of things, what there is to be dreaded is, that, when any event takes place that either goads their phrenzy to an outbreak, or affords what they may consider a fit opportunity for one, they will deliver themselves up to the fury of their wild revenge, and, without any other determinate object than plunder, that they will pour in upon the towns and cities for the purpose of pillage. And bad as the government of Mohammed Ali is, I cannot conceive a greater calamity than his death would be at the present moment. The attacks to which he is subject, and the imminent danger arising from them, are subjects of great anxiety to all those about the person of Mohammed Ali, and to none so much so, as the friends and agents of Ibrahim Pacha. Those who are in the confidence of the latter, make no secret of the fact, that the war in Syria is in opposition to his wishes, and is considered by him to be adverse to his interests.

LETTER V.

Acquirements of Mohammed Ali—Duplicity and deceit—Corruption of the Turkish Ministers—Embarrassment—Reasoning of the Pacha—Powerful argument—Scanty population for agricultural purposes—Depopulation of the country—Clot Bey's estimate of the mortality of the fellahs and soldiers—Conscriptions—False sentiments in relation to human suffering—Singular law—Abandoned towns and villages—Inconsistencies of Mohammed Ali's character.

The great defect in the character of the present ruler of Egypt is, the total ignorance he exhibits of the obligations he owes to the people over whom he reigns. But in forming an opinion of this disregard of their condition, it is necessary to bear in mind that Mohammed Ali is but a fortunate soldier, and, perhaps for the interests of France, a lucky accident in the land of mis-rule. He never had the advantages of education. The mere ability to sign his name he attained to, after the age of forty; he belongs to a religion whose doctrines are inimical to public interests; he sprung from the command of a lawless horde of Albanian soldiers, to the government of a country that had always been oppressed; and he has had to maintain himself in power, in spite of a master whose ordinary means of

putting down rebellion, or usurpation, have been the practice of treachery and cunning—the customary policy of the Porte towards its vassals whenever they aimed at independence, or accumulated wealth enough to tempt the cupidity of the Turkish government.

Mohammed Ali for a long time opposed this policy with his favourite weapons, duplicity and deceit, by the corruption of the ministers at Constantinople, and the cooling of the friends, and the heating of the enemies of the Grand Signior in all his provinces; and when this failed, he had recourse to arms, and he devoted all his attention, and the revenue of the state, to the defence of his country, as he called the carrying of the war into the heart of his master's territories.

The acquisition of those countries followed; and the maintenance of conquests that were untenable, impolitic to undertake, and ruinous to the resources of his country to contend for, has left his treasury in the most embarrassed condition. The want of money has been continually pressing on him; and the exigencies of the war, and the embarrassment of his finances consequent on it, can hardly be greater, without the total breaking up of his power. The condition of his people, the increase of their comforts, or the decrease of their burdens, has never

occupied his attention; his only concern is for the submission of his fellahs to the labour he imposes on them so unmercifully, and exacts from them with the cudgel and courbash.

One of the Pacha's most intimate friends and admirers, on coming from him some time ago, told me, as an extraordinary proof of the kind-heartedness and consideration of the Pacha for his people, that on the recent return of his highness from the Delta, he had said to my friend, "Alas! these fellahs cannot be got to work to irrigate their lands, and carry on the cultivation of them, without compulsion. I have made my officers reason with them, I have given them the seed, I have lent them the oxen, I have farmed out the lands to them, and I have called upon them, for their own sakes to go on with the tillage and irrigation; but nothing would do; I was compelled again for their own sakes, to force them to work, and without the whip they would do nothing."

This is a very good specimen of Mohammed Ali's mode of treating a question he wishes to keep the truth of out of sight, and to make the wickedness of his acts appear the result of the most benevolent motives. The wily Pacha took good care never to tell this gentleman, that the cultivation of these lands was not for the advantage of the

unfortunate fellahs, but for his own; and that every grain that grew on them was destined to go into his granaries.

And this is the way Mohammed Ali endeavours to satisfy himself, and those about him, that the constant scourging of his people is actually essential to the well-being of themselves and their families.

It is computed by persons well informed on the subject of Mohammed Ali's mode of government, that he has drawn away from the rural districts about 200,000 young men for his army at various times; and if we suppose, with Lane, one-half of the population amounting to 1,200,000 males; and a third of this number capable of bearing arms, if but half the latter are carried away for his troops, it is plain enough how his country must be impoverished of prædial labourers.

Now the continual drain on the rural districts, and the augmentation of the army, have the effect of depopulating the country, and concentrating the populations in the large towns and cities. In this way, the population of Alexandria, which in 1825, when I arrived in Egypt, was between 15,000 and 16,000, now amounts to 60,000; and with the troops recently brought down from the Hedjaz, and the sailors and marines of the stolen fleet of the Sultan, can hardly be, at present, under 80,000.

But with all the hardships, and privations, and perils of a soldier's life in Egypt, and its distant conquest, it is acknowledged by Clot Bey, the great advocate of Mohammed Ali and his government, that the mortality of the fellahs, who remain at home, is greater than that of their comrades, who are carried off to be made soldiers of. What a miserable condition that of the fellahs must be, when the toils and perils of a soldier's life, in these countries, are less fatal than the grinding oppression under which the former are cast down!

Since the war commenced against the Wahabees, by Mohammed Ali, his country has been harassed by conscriptions. The people get no peace from his soldiers: wherever they come, consternation spreads; the unfortunate fellahs take to flight, they are pursued, and eventually they fall into the hands of the Pacha's officers; then they are treated as the fugitive slaves are by their christian despots in other countries—in Cuba or America; they are scourged or bastinadoed, and there seems to be no end to the infliction of these tortures.

There are men who will tolerate any infliction of pain or suffering on their dependents, provided it be not done under their sight; but were they compelled to witness the cruelties performed by their orders, they would shrink from the infliction; and

many a man's character for humanity is built on no better foundation than this, that he has no nerves for enduring the sight of human sufferings; but, remove the sufferer from his sight, and bring the pains and anguish of his victim by other means to his knowledge, and he has no feelings for them, and no perception of his own insensibility.

There was a singular law in force in Egypt in ancient times for the prevention and punishment of infanticide. A mother who killed her child was condemned by this law to hold her murdered infant in her arms for three days and three nights. If, on the principle of bringing home to the bosoms of people the acts they have committed, his highness Mohammed Ali was condemned for three days and three nights, to witness all the scourging that in that brief period might be inflicted on his people, or, what might be still "more germane to the matter," for that period, to be shut up with the victims maimed and lacerated, who were still writhing in pain from the effects of the courbash; might not this man be brought to feel the outrages that are done every day by his agents, and with his sanction, on the wretched people?

There probably is no sight so mournful, so thoroughly deplorable, as that of a recently inhabited town or village buried in stillness—no life,

no motion in it; in short, abandoned, in despair of being longer able to resist oppression, by its people: where the dwellings of the poor inhabitants are still seen standing, neither blackened by fire, nor destroyed in war, nor decayed by time, but deprived of their inhabitants by a systematic course of cold-blooded rapacity on the part of the ruler of the land, which there was no power to elude or baffle, except by giving up house and home, and deserting, *en masse*, the devoted town or village.

These are the spectacles which hundreds of abandoned villages now present to the traveller's view on the banks of the Nile, and which attest the means by which foreign conquests have been made, and are now sought to be maintained, by Mohammed Ali.

How are these things to be reconciled with what I have said of the relations in which the same individual appears in so different a character—as a generous master, an affectionate father, and one in authority, to whom those immediately about him are strongly attached? How does it happen that it can be said of such a person, that the friends of his youth are those of his old age—that he is not fickle in his friendship, nor sanguinary in his disposition, nor intolerant in matters of religion?

How is it that so bad a ruler over his people,

who suffers his subjects to be treated with such barbarous inhumanity, should be entitled to regard in his private and domestic circle? That one, unlike the Djezzars and Ali Pachas of an earlier day, who is no hoarder of treasure, should grind down his people to the dust, and take the last para from the industry of the poor, and yet squander his resources on those about him, and suffer these persons, by peculation and contracts, (in which he sometimes admits with a joke, he winks at extortion) to amass great wealth, to build sumptuous palaces, and establish commercial houses in Trieste and elsewhere? Are such discrepancies in character more singular than those of Catiline, who was a squanderer, and yet a grasping despot—*profusus sui et appetens alieni?*

The sudden elevation of an uneducated man to great power—of one ambitious of military renown —guided by the counsel of needy foreigners, flattered and deceived, ignorant of the true interests of his country, and courting public opinion everywhere but at home; the circumstances of such a position, and the dependence on such means of maintaining it, will explain the anomalies I have pointed out in the character of Mohammed Ali. I may possibly have mistaken the nature and extent of the influence which, I believe, has been so prejudicial to his

people and himself; but one thing I am certain of, that whenever Mohammed Ali dies, he will go down to the grave lamented by some fifty or sixty individuals in Egypt, none of whom are of his country, and execrated by some two millions of his subjects, who are the natives of it.

LETTER VI.

Proprietorship of the soil—Doctrine of the Koran—Arabs—Turks —Mamelukes — Moultezims — Church landed property— French dominion—National plunder by Mohammed Ali— Land Tax—Responsibility of the sheik—Price of labour—Pay of soldiers—Pay of foreign mechanics—Food of the labouring population—Increase of revenue—Impoverishment of people accounted for in the growth of cotton—Extent of land in cultivation—Source of revenue—Exports—Imports —Machinery employed—Cost of erections—Waste of labour.

THE property in the soil of Egypt is vested in the Viceroy, that is to say, he has vested its property in his hands. From the most ancient times the rulers of Egypt have been, nominally at least, the lords of the soil; it was reserved for Mohammed Ali to make himself virtually so.

The doctrine of the Koran on this subject is, that princes are the representatives of God; and as all power emanates from him, so all territorial property belongs to his representatives. When the Arabs made a conquest of Egypt, the people found the payment of a tribute to the prince a sufficient guarantee for the possession of land in the hands of individuals; but when the Turks took possession of Egypt, these lands reverted to the Sultan, but the former proprietors had still the privilege of redeem-

ing them by a new purchase. The Mamelukes were the proprietors of the greater part of the land of Egypt; but the titles of the farmers or small landed proprietors, of which there were about 6000 in Egypt, called moultezims, were never called in question by them; and the rest of the lands were vested in mosques, or church property, and were as secure as the mosques themselves from any spoliation on the part of the government of the beys.

The moultezims possessed lands both as "middle men" between the government and the fellahs, who were the small farmers having some hereditary claims on the land, and likewise as proprietors, whose titles to it were recognised, or sold, by the beys, and their rights were hereditary; in the latter case, the children, who were the heirs to such property, had only to pay a certain sum for the recognition of their titles.

In the time of the beys, every man of any property in land had the power of securing it to his children, by leaving it in what was called "rizaq," investing it in church landed property, and this property was held sacred. The lands bought for this purpose were settled on the mosques, but the use and farming of them, subject to a determined rent to the mosques, remained in the hands of the testator's children.

The French, during their domination, did nothing for the amelioration of the condition of the fellahs; they found them slaves, and they kept them in slavery.

Mohammed Ali was no sooner established in power than he effected his great act of national robbery, which, in point of the sweeping nature of its wickedness, is only inferior, perhaps, to that of the destruction of the Mamelukes. In the year, 1808, he called on the moultezims, or landed proprietors, to deposit all their titles to their land in his hands; and no sooner were they in his grasp, than he abolished them. This atrocious act of rapacity and injustice has not been bruited and reprobated like that of the wholesale slaughter of his guests: but it is scarcely deserving, at all events, of the praises which his French parasites have bestowed upon it. A nominal indemnity was decreed to the plundered proprietors: they were assigned a paltry annuity during their lives from his treasury; but any one who knows what such things mean in Egypt, must be well assured, that the proprietors were not left much better off than the fellahs are, when the Pacha takes their produce at his own price, and pays them for it with orders on his treasury, which they find difficult enough to get paid.

His next act of spoliation was that of the lands which hitherto had been held as sacred property, namely, that settled on mosques, nominally for pious and charitable purposes, really for securing property to the testator's children.

He abolished the "rizaqs," and seized on the property invested in the church, or in the mosques, charging himself with the defrayment of the expense of public worship, pensioning off the sheiks, and leaving nothing of this species of property to the mosques but personal property, houses, and gardens. This land, of which he robbed the moultezims, he is now farming out to the persons who are about his court, or to the merchants who are highest in his favour; and it is calculated that about 200,000 acres of land have been thus disposed of by him. Where the new possessors happen to be Englishmen, as several of them are, the condition of the slaves, or subjects of Mohammed Ali (as some people call them), is bettered, and they are treated somewhat like human beings; but, by compulsion, everywhere labour is exacted and stimulated by the courbash.

With the exception of the farmers of these newly-disposed of lands, there is now no middle man between the Pacha and the fellahs. The land which he lets out is subject to a tax, called the

Miri, which is the principal source of his revenue, and varies from eight shillings to twelve shillings an acre.

The small farmers are obliged to grow the staples which the Pacha considers the land best adapted for, which hitherto have been grown on it.

When a fellah takes to flight who has not paid his taxes, or a farmer runs away without paying the land impost or "miri," the amount he owes is levied on the district; and when a crime, such as robbery or any violation of the peace, takes place, the district is likewise held accountable; and the Sheik-el-belled is answerable for the capture of the culprit.

The price of labour varies from twenty to forty paras a day. The ordinary hire of a strong adult labourer on good lands is two-pence a day; but taking good and bad, the average price of labour in Egypt, is about three-halfpence a day. The pay of the soldiers is little better—namely, fifteen piastres * a month; while the Maltese, Italians, and Frenchmen in the factories, who are employed as mechanics earn fifteen piastres a day. The food of the fellahs consists of beans, doura, (or Indian corn) water melons, beans, dates, onions, sometimes dried fish, and animal food in the country, seldom if ever.

In the course of forty years the revenues of

* 100 piastres are worth about 20 shillings sterling.

Egypt have nearly doubled; and yet it is calculated that a third part of the land has gone out of cultivation. The population has certainly not increased, and everybody admits that the people are greatly impoverished. I believe the solution of these anomalies is to be found in the great profitableness of the cultivation of cotton, formerly unknown, which has compensated for the falling off of other produce; but all this advantage is for the Pacha, and not for his people.

The total quantity of land cultivated in Egypt, is said to be two millions of acres, when the Nile has been favourable, (Clot Bey says, considerably more) and very nearly double that quantity of land is reckoned cultivable; and in Mr. Lane's able work, we are informed, I believe most truly, "that the produce of the soil, in the present age, would suffice, if none were exported, for the maintenance of a population amounting to four millions; and if all the soil which is capable of cultivation were sown, the produce would be sufficient for the maintenance of eight millions." The population is now little more than a fourth part of that amount, and the people have barely sufficient food to exist upon.

The great source of Egyptian revenue is the miri, or land-tax, varying from eight to twelve shillings an acre. It may average ten shillings,

and the quantity of land subject to it, two millions of acres; this would give a revenue alone of a million sterling, and the population of the country, from which the revenue comes, hardly exceeds two millions; and from the industry of these two millions altogether, four millions and a-half are wrung. In fact, the amount of taxation is more than double what it was under the former rulers of the land.

The exports by which these revenues are largely realised, have been augmented considerably, but there has been no corresponding increase in the imports. These exports are now chiefly of products formerly unknown in Egypt, and the imports are not for the people's consumption, but consist of commodities for the Pacha's stores,—his arsenals, camps, and fabrics; warlike stores and machinery for manufacturing the silks and cottons that are imported, are for the master, and not the slave class. These warlike stores are expended in unprofitable conquests. This machinery is employed in equally unprofitable manufactures. The total cost of the erection of which fabrics alone, and the putting of them into operation, Colonel Campbell estimated at one million sterling, and the waste of labour at thirty thousand men constantly employed in them.

LETTER VII.

Military excitement—Hope of aggrandizement—Fulsome flattery of the French—Reply of the Pacha—The prime minister—His appearance—Narrow escape—Restoration to favour—Detested by the Turks—Reasons for this hatred—British merchants at Alexandria—The war party—Books studied—Influence of Clot Bey—Statements put forth by him on the connexion between civilization and war—Apology for the cruelties inflicted on the Arabs—Recommends the formation of a new empire—Commends the rapacious and iniquitous acts of the Pacha—And vindicates the atrocious murder of the Mamelukes.

THE stir of military preparation to which Mohammed Ali has become habituated, and that species of excitement which the chances of war abound with, have so long kept the energies of the Pacha on the *qui vive* that it is doubtful if he could now exist without this kind of distraction.

He has played at the game of war so long, and been so successful a military gambler, that he cannot stop while another province of Turkey remains unwon; and he has now staked his all on the Syrian conquest, and the cards are beginning to turn against him. But while there is a chance, in the game of politics, of disconcerting, disuniting, or baffling the vigilance of his opponents, he will see the ruinous game out, and even feel satisfaction

in having the opportunity afforded him of displaying those peculiar talents, by the exercise of which, he has heretofore overreached his enemies, wearied out their patience, or taken advantage of their credulity, even though he may not be able to foresee any fortunate result from these means, in the present instance.

The sycophants about him have rung in his ears the praises of his military renown—they compare him to Napoleon—they call him "the Napoleon of the East." One of them lately related, in my presence, an oration which he had that day delivered to him. He said, "Sire, the world is filled with your name; France knows how to appreciate the greatness of it. I feel myself utterly insignificant in your presence—the honour of addressing Mohammed Ali is too great for so humble an individual." Now this seems hardly credible, nevertheless it is most true; and even the grossness of the adulation was far more hyperbolical in the original, than I have rendered it. This language was held to Mohammed Ali by a man of high repute; but he did not think proper to make mention of the reply which the Pacha made to him. The Pacha's interpreters, however, did not suffer it to be lost, and it certainly was very creditable to Mohammed Ali. When the French gentleman

ended speaking of his insignificance, the humbleness of his rank, &c., the Pacha put his hand on his breast, and said, " Sir, the heart of one man beats the same as the heart of another."

Who can think of the man who was capable of uttering these words, and not lament that one who could feel all that this rebuke implied, had not fallen into the hands of better counsellors than the coterie of Frenchmen, Greeks, and Italians, by whom he is surrounded.

The Armenian, Boghoss, who so long held the office of his prime minister, is now sinking under infirmities. He still, on important occasions, as I have lately seen him, attends on his master, and his spectral appearance, and death-like features, still full of intelligence and astuteness, but pale and emaciated, reminds one of the old viziers of Saladdin, those oriental Nestors, on such occasions.

But Boghoss is a counsellor who was once in the hands of the executioner for saying too much. Mohammed Ali had condemned him to be put into a sack and thrown into the Nile, and he only escaped by the merest accident; and from the period he was reinstated in the favour of his master, it is said by those who know him well, that his counsel has been guided by the most consummate discretion, that is to say, that he has never compromised him-

self, and has allowed his master, on all occasions, to be compromised by his own acts and deeds, and the counsel of others, without meddling with them.

" Dieu à donné la parole à l'homme pour cacher la pensée," said Mons. Taleyrand, and this " gift " the wily Armenian has been so largely endowed with, that the expression of his own opinion on any subject, would be startling to himself. He is detested by the Turks, who are high in office, because he is a christian, and chiefly because all the produce of the country passes through his hands into those of the foreign merchants, who become the purchasers and shippers of it; and as these Turkish officials find their pay generally in long arrear, they lay all the blame of the exhaustion of the treasury on the christian minister; and many of them think he is leagued with the christians in turning away the riches of the land from the proper Turkish channel. The fact is, Boghoss does his duty towards his master, and consults his interests, and those it may be presumed, of his brother, who is established in a great mercantile house in Trieste, which trades with Egypt. Boghoss had the means of amassing more wealth than all the foreigners in Egypt—but he has amassed none in Egypt. He possesses neither money nor valuables there—he has enriched his brother by the facilities he was able to give him to

obtain the Pacha's produce—well knowing that, with the hatred the Turks have to himself, and the experience he has once had of the Pacha's summary proceedings on the reports of his enemies, his poverty alone saves him from ruin.

It happens unfortunately for Mohammed Ali, that those persons in whose attachment to his real interests he had most reason to place confidence, are not now residing in Egypt. Mr. Briggs, on whose probity and intelligence he has confided for nearly thirty years, and his partner, Mr. Thurburn, whose friendship was no less valuable to him, are now far from him. The British merchants of Alexandria, several of whom are high in his favour, and likewise strongly attached to his interests, have too little inclination to descend to those intrigues which are practised by those who have gained an ascendancy in his councils, to exert any material influence over his political views. The war party, and not the mercantile one, is dominant in the court of Mohammed Ali. The language of that court is now the language of a camp. The Pacha talks of war in preference to any other subject. He thinks of nothing but war. The books he delights in having read to him, are those in which battles are described, and exploits are recorded of Alexander, and of Napoleon, and of Wellington (as they are

presented through the microscopic medium of French historians). In fact, the lust of conquest has taken possession of his mind, and the rage for striking events and military movements has absorbed every desire for tranquillity or prosperity.

It is difficult to conceive the pains that have been taken by his French *employeés* to foster these sentiments. One of the most recent writers of this class, and one whose close attendance on the Pacha renders his influence most deleterious to Egypt, and whose hostility to England is of the most rabid description, is M. Clot Bey. In a late work, in which the sentiments and political views of Mohammed Ali are put forth in the Frenchman's name, the military glory of the Pacha is expatiated on, in these terms, speaking of "the happy results of the creation of an Egyptian army for civilization:"—"War," he says, "in spite of the particular calamities which it brings with it, has been always the most active promoter of civilization. There has been no fortunate revolution which has not been consecrated by battles, and which bears not the name of a conqueror. The great men are those who have left the most popular recollections, and which excite the most admiration and enthusiasm. Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, and Napoleon, have been, before everything, great

warriors. One cannot better evince the direct influence of war on all branches of civilization than in the case of Egypt. Everything was to be done, and everything was commenced, to be accomplished at the end of a military organization. The formation of a regular army has had general results, very useful to Egypt."

Now these are very wicked sentiments to be put forth by a man who cannot fail to know the condition of the country, and the disastrous influence of this military organization on it. This same writer, after describing the manner of carrying the conscription into execution—the seizing of the fellahs—the binding of them—and the lamentation of their wives, and mothers, and children, and acknowledging that the system is bad, takes away every idea of culpability from the wrongs inflicted on the unfortunate people by the assertion—"They (the Arabs) neither knew nor esteemed any other language on the part of those in power than that of force. Mohammed Ali was, then, from the beginning obliged to employ violence to make them serve his purposes" (pour les faire concourir à ses desseins).

Not content with the conquest of Syria, this writer endeavours to stimulate his master to greater enterprises. "Pour moi," he says, "je pense que

les pretensions du Vice-Roy sont au dessous de celles qu'il aurait put manifester." The Pacha has not gone far enough for this man. He more than suggests the formation of a new empire, which is to "embrace Egypt, Arabia, and a part of Africa;" and Napoleon, he says, comprehended Syria in this Aarb empire. "I avow, (says Clot Bey), for I can say in full liberty that which I think, that this idea has always been mine, that it has seduced my imagination, and more strongly attached me to the service of Mohammed Ali." These ravings are not to be contemned; they are opinions that are buzzed in the ears of the Pacha at all hours—they are ultimately made his, and in this form they may be considered as the feelers of the policy that is recommended, and that probably has been meditated upon.

I have spoken of the wholesale seizure of the landed property of the moultezims, the land-owners of Egypt, in the year 1808. This act of rapacity is commended by Clot Bey as one, the experience of whose working proves, that "the present system of property realised by Mohammed Ali, is in itself the best possible system;" and "this organization of property, (he says elsewhere), and the relation in which it has placed the Vice-Roy with his fellahs, has excited the severe censures of some persons who judge Egypt and its inhabitants too much by

European ideas." The same facile mode of treating the more signal acts of injustice and oppression on the part of Mohammed Ali is adopted, when this writer notices the depopulation of Egypt. "His enemies," he says, "accuse him, however, of exhausting Egypt; they make, above all, its actual depopulation a crime in him, and they reproach him with increasing this evil by keeping up military forces which exceed the resources of his country. . . . If we admit that, in order to restore civilization and reach the period of its famous prosperity, Egypt had need, above all, of a strong and durable government, we must excuse the means by which Mohammed Ali has secured the strength and permanence of his power. It is especially in barbarous countries, where everything inclines towards despotism in practice, where the term even civil rights is unknown, that the end justifies the means!"

The morality of this reasoning is so perfectly French, that it is needless to comment on it.

In the same style he discusses the expediency of the Pacha's early mode of suppressing disorders by executions without legal process, and he justifies them on this ground. *Une tête tombeé prevenait de grandes calamitiès, et sauvait des milliers d'existences.*

The falling of a head is so slight a matter in the mind of this gentleman, that we cannot be surprised at the falling of nearly five hundred on one

occasion, considered only as an event that the circumstances of the times had rendered necessary. "The first day of March 1811, was the day chosen (says the writer) for this act of terrible justice. On that day, the Mamelukes were invited to assist at the investiture of the son of the Viceroy, Toussoun Pacha, who was going to command the expedition against the Wahabees. Mangled and hacked by the Albanian soldiers, they were fired upon without mercy."

Now, how is this horrid treason against the lives of so many hundreds of unsuspecting guests characterized by this man? Why, as the removal of dangers which the Viceroy "ought to annihilate in their source" ("que le Viceroi devait ancantir dans leur source.") In fact, in the massacre of the Mamelukes, according to Clot Bey, "the Viceroy used the right of legitimate defence" ("le Viceroi usa au droit de legitime dêfense.")

The atrocity of this language, it might seem, is so obvious, that it would be reprobated in other countries, as it must be here. But it will pass, and not without approval, among thousands of his countrymen; and I have cited it, that it may be seen what the men are who have a dominant influence over the mind of Mohammed Ali.

LETTER VIII.

Shipping—Mercantile—Naval—Number of seamen—Discontent among them—The Navy in 1828 and 1840—Extraordinary progress—Inutility—Official statements exaggerated—Probable numbers—Officers—Solyman Pacha—Recruiting the army by Slave-hunts—Frightful mortality—Arab soldiers—Mode of recruiting—Conscriptions—Troops in the field—Excess of expenditure in Syria—Enormous taxation—Want of money—Rumour of a Gold Mine—Disappointment—Present position of Mohammed—Intrigues of the French—Sir Robert Stopford at Alexandria—Interview—Invitation to dinner—Postponement.

THE true way to consider the commercial, agricultural, and military greatness of Egypt, is to compare her mercantile marine with her naval armament—her armies with her agricultural population—and her revenues with the resources of her people. Now, the mercantile shipping belonging to the port of Alexandria falls short of twenty ships exceeding one hundred tons; while the ships of war amount to eleven vessels of the line, six frigates, five corvettes, four schooners, five brigs, two cutters, two small steamers on the Nile, and one sea-going steam ship.

This naval power, enormous when compared with the mercantile marine, weighs heavily on the

resources of the country. But the burden of the maintenance of the Turkish fleet presses still more heavily on them. That fleet now lying useless in the harbour of Alexandria, consists of twenty-four vessels—nine ships of the line, eleven frigates, one corvette, and three brigs. The total number of Turkish sailors and soldiers, including three thousand of the latter belonging to this fleet, is 21,124; and to keep these men in subjection, the Pacha is compelled to pay them very punctually. But, with all his efforts to keep them quiet, it is impossible to reconcile them to their captivity. The Turks find they have been betrayed into the hands of the mortal enemy of the Sultan, and they are dispirited, discontented, and in despair of ever getting back to their own country.

Numbers of them have already taken refuge on board our ships; some have fled into the desert, in the hope of getting back to Turkey, and have been carried back to Alexandria. While I was in Alexandria, seven of their officers were detected in a plot they had laid for their escape, and were seized and sent to the fortress of Aboukir, where it is greatly to be feared they will remain.

The total number of men in the Egyptian marine is twenty thousand; so that the marine force now at the disposal and at the cost of Mohammed Ali,

exceeds forty thousand men, between Turks and Egyptians.

When I quitted Egypt in 1828, the battle of Navarin had left the Pacha of Egypt two frigates. The arsenal was not then in existence, nor the palace, which is now contiguous to it. In the course of twelve years I find Mohammed Ali master of two fleets, consisting of sixty vessels of war, with a marine of forty thousand men, and an arsenal, in which the greater number of his own ships have been built, and occupying a site which twelve years ago was a sandy beach.

No common energies were required to produce these extraordinary results; but to what purpose of good to his country or himself have they been produced?

One might ask that question in the words of Wallenstein—"Tell me where is the end of all this toil—this grinding labour, that has sapped the strength of youth, left the heart uncheered and void, and the spirit rude and barren as the wilderness? This camp's unceasing din, the trumpet's clang, the never-changing round of service and parade, give nothing to the heart that longs for nourishment."

Poor diet for the miserable fellahs is all the military glory of Mohammed Ali.

The army, according to the latest official returns of the government, consists of 130,300 regular troops, distributed in Egypt, Syria, Candia, the Hedjaz, and Upper Nubia. National Guards of the chief cities of Egypt, 47,800 men; and irregular troops in Arabia and Nubia, including the Bedouins, 41,678—total in round numbers, 220,000 men. This statement is greatly exaggerated, and recent events have diminished the number of the Pacha's troops considerably.

The exaggeration of the number of regular troops is enormous; the total number of Egyptian troops now in Syria, does not exceed 25,000 men. The number of troops in Egypt, Arabia, and Nubia, may be estimated at 30,000; the irregular troops, consisting of Albanians and Bedouin Arabs, at the utmost may be estimated at 25,000 men, and the National Guards at 25,000 more. Total of the effective military force of Mohammed Ali, 105,000 men. To which if the Egyptian marine force be added, of 20,000 men, the joint amount would be 125,000 men. The Turkish marine I do not take into account, because Mohammed Ali could not count on its fidelity to him on any emergency. The above statement is founded on the information of official persons, deeply interested in ascertaining the real strength of the Pacha's army.

In a country whose population scarcely exceeds two millions, and where the females are to the males, in the proportion of 135 to 100—where the scarcity of hands to cultivate the soil is so great, and the repugnance of the people to abandon that soil so notorious, the keeping up of an army of 125,000 men, and of a navy of 36 vessels of war, with 20,000 marines, independently of the Turkish fleet and force, cannot eventually prove otherwise than ruinous to the resources of it. This army is officered by Turks and Mamelukes; its instructors are French and Italians, chiefly the former; and Colonel Seve, now Solyman Pacha, formerly an aide-de-camp of Marshal Grouchy, has the title of a bey, and the rank in it of a general of division.

Solyman Pacha is the person to whom Mohammed Ali committed the introduction of European tactics into his army, and he certainly deserves the highest credit for the manner in which he has acquitted himself of that task. In the year 1822, this revolution in the military discipline of his army was commenced by Mohammed Ali. Five hundred of his young Mamelukes were placed at the disposal of Colonel Seve, and with these the colonel commenced the new system at Assouan. Five hundred more of the sons of the Pacha's chief officers of state, and the grandees of the large towns

were soon added to the number; and these young men having been trained for officers, an army was sought for them to command. The unmanageable Albanian and Turkish soldiers of the Pacha it would have been useless to have attempted to select for this experiment. It was determined to ravage unfortunate Africa for recruits. The slave-hunts were duly organised in Kordofan, and 30,000 negroes were dragged away in chains, and carried down to Manfalout to be made soldiers of, after the European fashion. Six regiments were formed of these negroes, and four of these were sent to the Morea to fight against the Greeks. I happened to be in the island of Candia when they arrived there from Egypt, in the latter part of the year 1824, on their way to the Morea. Here they were encamped for the winter months, and here about two-thirds of them miserably perished from the effects of cold and hardship, and the despair of ever seeing their own land again. They could not be said to die of any disease—they drooped and pined away, and many a black corpse has been thrown on the beach in the bay of Suda, while the army of Ibrahim Pacha was encamped in that place.

The rest of the negro troops who were sent into Arabia and Sennaar, perished by thousands, and in a little time the skeleton of a regiment was all that

remained of 30,000 stolen men. The poor Arabs were now destined to replace the negroes; this was the first time the fellahs were ever taken from their homes to be made soldiers of, and their repugnance to this service was not overcome, but was terrified into apparent submission by the courbash. This was the beginning of the greatest calamity that ever fell on them, and it has gone on augmenting their misery for upwards of fifteen years.

Mohammed Ali thinks it his policy to exaggerate the number of his troops. In speaking of his armies in Syria or Egypt, he gives the number of troops he intends to levy, or counts the conscriptions he has ordered, as men already in his service; but there is a vast difference now between those thousands of fellahs on paper, and those thousands in the field. The conscription demands them, but the men are not to be found. When I left Alexandria it was officially stated, that Ibrahim Pacha had 60,000 men under his command, and yet the greatest force that Ibrahim Pacha can gather around him at the present time, does not exceed 15,000 men; and the whole of the Egyptian forces in Syria cannot amount to above 25,000.

The Syrian conscription amounted to about 36,000; but of these 17,000 only were distributed among the Egyptian forces in Syria, and the rest

were sent to Egypt, and desertions to a large amount have reduced the number of the former. Far from deriving any pecuniary advantage from his conquests, every conquest of Mohammed Ali has proved burdensome to Egypt. This certainly does not arise from any want of inclination to avail himself of the resources of the country he has conquered, but from the effects of the excessive rapacity of his government. The excess of expenditure over the revenues in Syria, amounted in 1838, to 120,000 francs, and yet the taxes imposed on the people of Syria were enormous. In some districts, the capitation tax amounted to 32 piastres a head; the toleration tax on christians, from 22 to 60 piastres a head; the house tax from 13 to 500 piastres a house; the tax on a silk loom, 300 piastres; on an olive tree, 150 piastres; on a yoke of oxen, from 30 to 50 piastres; on a mule, 40 piastres; on a sheep, 20 piastres; on other animals, 10 piastres a head. And what with taxation, the abandonment of cultivation, the effects of the conscriptions, the constant requisitions of beasts of burden for the use of the army, and the excesses of the troops; the price of provisions was raised in many places 100 per cent., and on some articles of food 200 per cent.

These facts are stated in official documents, which

the advocates of the Pacha cannot controvert. There is an inherent vice in the government of Mohammed Ali, which his very successes render detrimental to his views. He has no sooner established his power in one country, than he looks to another for the means of indemnifying his resources for the treasures he has lavished on his conquest. He is harassed for money; and at one time, he turns to the new territorial acquisitions; and at another period, to the discovery of valuable mines, for the means of meeting the vast expenses of his armaments. The rumour of a gold mine in the interior of Africa, some two thousand miles from his own country, carried him on an expedition to Fezaglou; and he came back to Egypt disappointed in his expectations. The African El Dorado proved an utter failure. And the mine of wealth in the agriculture of Egypt was not yet sufficient to absorb his attention; the once fertile lands of Syria presented a new field for the operation of his agricultural and fiscal system; and here again the failure of that system to contribute to his revenue has entailed fresh burdens on his own impoverished country. His present position has no great appearance of realising the views of his admirers, of establishing either a Syrian, an Egyptian, or an Arabian empire. But the resistance that is rising against his

oppression, affords a prospect beyond his dynasty, of civilization breaking in on those countries, which, perhaps, but for the stirring nature of his despotism, and the effects of some of his institutions, might have slumbered on in tame subjection to tyranny, and in the apathy of barbarism for many ages to come.

It might be imagined, that the little knot of Frenchmen who are the war party in the court and camp of Mohammed Ali had the whole protection and defence, not of the interest of Egypt, but of the honour of France, specially committed to their charge; for they imagine they are signally promoting the latter, when they are bringing their master into inextricable difficulties, both at home and abroad. It was not so much the acts of the French government, as those intrigues and underhand agency of the Franks about the person of Mohammed Ali, which prevented the peaceful settlement of the Syrian question, at the time when the British admiral was in Alexandria. It was said of the Franks of old, by Libanius, that—"Peace was for them a horrible calamity;" and as for these modern Franks in Egypt, there is nothing so propitious as a good campaign. Like the Athenians, "they are bold and daring beyond their power, and full of hope in desperate emergencies."

Nobody knows better than Mohammed Ali how desperate the present emergency is; his troops unpaid—his treasury exhausted—his people complaining of his oppression, for the first time openly and clamorously—his distant provinces in extreme disorder, and his fleet blockaded in his own port. When the British admiral came to Alexandria in September, and had an interview with the Pacha, the impression made on the latter by the venerable appearance, and mild, yet resolute demeanour of Sir Robert Stopford was very favourable to the object of his visit; namely, of pointing out to Mohammed Ali, the evils of a struggle like that which was about to take place.

The impression made by the admiral's first visit was such, that the war party took care no opportunity should be afforded of taking advantage of these favourable circumstances. The Pacha was pleased with Sir Robert Stopford; he was an old man of his own age; he had seen much service; and the frankness of his address, and perhaps, as much as anything else, the courteousness of his mode of communication with him, touched Mohammed Ali. He talked with the admiral with evident satisfaction, and invited him to dine with him, and the invitation was accepted; but when the day came, the Pacha had been ailing for some days, and

in spite of his express wishes, his physicians, Clot Bey and Gaetano, obliged him to put it off.

It was very well known that the Pacha had sought this opportunity of communicating freely with the admiral, on the subject that was then so greatly embarrassing him; but the wily intriguers about him, took care that no such communication should take place.

During the first interview, the Pacha spoke to the admiral of his early predilections for a military life; he said, that when he was a boy he could still remember the pleasure he felt in commanding others of his age.

It is to be feared that Mohammed Ali's career will still be like that of the rapacious barons in former times, "whose life was but a battle and a march, never resting, but driven like the wind across the war convulsed land."

LETTER IX.

Sound advice to Mohammed Ali—Republic—Cultivation of cotton—Quantity exported—Insufficient remuneration to the cultivator—Enormous profit to the Pacha—Public instruction—Schools—Number of scholars—Means employed to obtain them—M. Jamard—His great success—Education of natives in France and England—Private schools—Number of scholars—Objections to these schools—Mutilation of children—Kind of instruction—Useful reforms by Clot Bey in the hospitals of Cairo and Alexandria—Popular opinion on the subject of schools—Reasons for this opinion—Difference in respect to town and country districts—Condition of the people needs improvement—Newspapers at Alexandria and Cairo—Mohammed Ali and French and English newspapers.

One of the most enlightened of the French travellers who visited Egypt, conversed with Mohammed Ali on the subject of government; and, in reply to a question of the Pacha's respecting the nature and results of republican forms of government, addressed the Pacha, "to understand them thoroughly you must suppose yourself in the position of the people, and the people in yours." Mohammed Ali said, with a smile, "it would not answer to have a republic in Egypt." The *pro bono* Pacha system of administration was too much at variance with the *pro bono publico* principle of

government, for the latter to find much favour in the eyes of Mohammed Ali.

His system, he asserts, and probably believes, is the only one by which the Arabs could be got to labour; and the extraordinary success he has had in the cultivation of cotton, is the argument that is constantly adduced in proof of this assertion. In the course of eighteen years, the exports of cotton have been augmented from 541 bales to 136,000, each bale weighing 2 cwt.; and the price at which he takes it from the grower, is from 112 to 150 piastres a quintal of 120 pounds weight. One acre of ground produces about 300 pounds of cotton; and the cultivation of four acres requires one man's labour. Now, if the produce of one man's labour is 1200 pounds weight, and he gets for this, on an average, rather more than 1200 piastres, or £12 sterling, the remuneration would be such as to encourage the fellah to cultivate cotton. But how does it happen that compulsion alone can induce him to grow it? In the first place, the land-tax is deducted from the price of his produce. The Pacha's agents cheat him in the weight: the mode of payment exposes him to delays and disappointment, and ultimately to loss. The ground may be unfavourable to the growth of cotton, or the season unpropitious, and the fellah is the sufferer by the

decrease of the produce, or the failure of the crop. The Pacha loses nothing but the profits he would have made, had the produce been more abundant; and some notion of these profits may be formed by the value of the exportation of cotton in the year 1836. On the authority of Clot Bey, it amounted to twenty-four millions of francs, or one million sterling.

If any person, clearly understanding this subject, acquainted with the habits and condition of the labouring population of Egypt, and conversant with its mode of agriculture, were to undertake the task of drawing up a lucid statement of the disadvantages of the present grinding system of agricultural monopoly, and to point out plainly and succinctly the mode of making the interests of the people subservient to the true interests of the Pacha—of rendering agricultural labour more beneficial to both, and the necessity of enforcing labour by the bastinado avoidable, and to present such an exposition of views clearly practicable to the Pacha —I believe, he might confer a signal benefit on Mohammed Ali, and on his people.

The great misfortune of the Pacha's mode of civilizing Egypt is, that he has begun at the wrong end of improvement; he has left the condition of the people in all its misery, and promulgated a

magnificent programme of public instruction, with all the complex and expensive machinery of an extensive system of education, presided over by a minister of public instruction, and administered by a council of inspectors and supervisors. The primary schools established in the towns are fifty, the number of scholars about 5000. In these schools the children are maintained, and a trifling gratuity is annually given to them, in order to induce their parents to send them; but where this inducement is not sufficient to obtain scholars, force is employed, and pupils are procured for the schools as recruits are for the army. In the more advanced schools, about 4000 pupils are instructed. In the school of medicine, about 300. In all the public schools, say 9300; while in private schools, or endowed medressehs, for instruction, administered by the guardians of the mosques, it is said, that about 20,000 pupils receive instruction. In the school of medicine, 500 young men are said to have received a medical education since its commencement in 1825, under the direction of Clot Bey.

In 1826, the Pacha commenced his system of education, by sending forty young men to France for education, and these were placed under the charge of M. Jamard, a man of enlightened views, and who acquitted himself of his task highly to the

advantage of his pupils and to his own credit. Since that period others have been sent to France and England; few to the latter country, but altogether about 114 to France. These, on their return to Egypt, were employed in the different schools as masters, some in the marine, some in the military, and others in the medical schools.

But the objections of the people to these schools have never been overcome. Clot Bey says—"Parents have been seen to mutilate their children to prevent their being entered in the schools." But latterly, the amount of the repugnance got rid of, appears to be this, that the parents are less intractable, "*moins difficiles*."

The schools are divided into primary, where they learn the elements of the Arabic tongue and arithmetic—preparatory, where they learn the Turkish language, mathematics, geography, and history—and special, where they are educated for civil and military engineers, agriculturalists, medical men, and other professions.

The medical and polytechnic schools, are those which are productive of most good, and are best administered. But of all the improvements which have been attempted to be introduced, that in the public hospitals is the one which deserves most praise; and of all the Franks whose efforts have

been most usefully employed in the establishment of the medical schools, and the great reforms that have been made in the hospitals of Cairo and Alexandria; Clot Bey, I freely admit, is most deserving of credit. But when he travels out of his proper sphere, and takes upon himself the task of expounding, advocating, and influencing the political views and measures of his master, his efforts are neither useful to Mohammed Ali, nor advantageous to his people.

The schools, strictly speaking, for the people are productive of little benefit, for the obvious reason, that the people have no reason to confide in the motives of Mohammed Ali. They believe that his object is to get hold of the children, for the purpose eventually, of making soldiers of them. In the neighbourhood of large towns, where his oppression is felt less severely, the children voluntarily enter the schools for the sake of the advantages given to them in the way of food and clothing; but in the country; nothing but compulsion can be made to triumph over the objections of the parents to part with their children.

Nothing is farther from my intention than to detract from the merit of the attempt to give education to the people; what I lament is, the failure of it; and what I would desire to draw

attention to, is the mistaken notions which have led to that failure.

The idea of taking from the people the means to live, of establishing a system of government which renders them poor and abject, which is alike adverse to their interests and their habits, which deprives their chiefs and sheiks of their former property in the soil, and takes away the strength of their population for armies in foreign lands; and while these hardships are inflicted on them, and are most severely felt, to think of forcing education on them is so obviously absurd and impracticable, that it is only surprising how the attempt could have been made with any expectation of its success.

If Mohammed Ali would civilize his people, he must begin by bettering their condition; if he would educate the children of the fellahs, he must leave the fathers bread; if he would fill the schools, he must disband his armies; if he would send "the school-master abroad" in Egypt, he must limit the functions of the tax-gatherer and the Turkish soldier; in a word, if he would humanize his people, he must soften their dispositions by other means of improvement, than by the constant use of the cudgel and the courbash.

Among the unsuccessful attempts of the Pacha to make European enlightenment harmonize with his

oppressive system of government, the establishment of a newspaper press is worthy of notice. One weekly newspaper was established at Alexandria in 1833, called the *Moniteur Egyptien*, and died the natural death of French influence in 1834. Another was established in Cairo, and still drags on a lingering existence: it is an Arabic and Turkish journal, and serves for the publication of official papers at irregular periods. When I was in Cairo, it had not appeared for several weeks. The press that for the moment is of use to the views of Mohammed Ali, is the French: the one that may become ultimately useful to his people, is the press of England, whose leading journals are regularly read to him by his interpreters.

LETTER X.

Population of Egypt—Ancient and Modern—Relative numbers—Population of Cairo and Alexandria—Public Buildings—Mohammed Ali and Napoleon—Contrast between Ancient and Modern Egypt—Magnificent column—Wretched habitations of the Arabs—The Rayahs—Their descent—Language—Occupation—Numbers—Religion—The Greeks—The Syrians—Religion—General Character—Intolerance—Ignorance of the Priests—The Jews—Synagogues—Toleration of their Religion—Treatment of an old blind Jew—Interference—Their general treatment—Appearance—Jews' quarter—Characteristics of the Jews at Cario.

The question of the population of Egypt, is one that has engaged the attention of many writers; and as there is no official census, it follows, that there is great difference of opinion on this subject. The ancient population of Egypt, which, at the time of Sesostris, according to Strabo, amounted to 6,000,000 or 7,000,000; in the days of Diodorus Siculus had dwindled down to about half that number. In Volney's time, the population amounted only to 2,300,000, and now it probably amounts to 2,000,000.

Mohammed Ali thinks it his interest to exaggerate the number of his people as well as of his

troops: he estimates the population at 3,200,000; Clot Bey at 3,000,000; Lane at 2,000,000; and other recent travellers, from 2,000,000 to 2,500,000. The Egyptians, or Arabs, or Fellahs, Clot Bey calls 2,600,000; and Lane, with more reason, estimates them at 1,750,000. Both agree that the Copts amount to 150,000, of which number about 6,000 are Roman Catholics. The Turks, Clot Bey says, amount to 12,000; Lane to 10,000; but neither can include their Mameluke slaves in this amount. The Bedouins, according to Clot Bey, amount to 70,000; but Lane thinks, with justice, the Bedouins of the desert should not be included in the population of Egypt. The negroes, Clot Bey sets down at 20,000, and of this number it is thought, 12,000 are female negro slaves, 2,500 male negro slaves, and 5,000 free negroes. The Berberi, or Nubians, are estimated at 5,000; the Abyssinian slaves at 5,000; the white slaves 5,000, consisting of Circassians, Georgians, and Greeks; of the latter, between 500 and 600 included, of the whole 3,000 are females, and about 2,000 males, who are the Mameluke slaves of grandees. The Jews, according to Clot Bey, amount to 7,000; according to Lane 5,000, and even this number, in my opinion, is greater than they now are. The

Jews in Egypt are neither advancing in population nor prosperity. The Syrians amount to 6,000; they have much increased of late years. Clot Bey estimates them at 5,000, and Lane likewise. The Greek Rayahs are estimated at 3,000 by Clot Bey, but they amount to 5,000. The Armenians do not exceed 2,000; and the Frank Greeks the same number. The Italians amount to 2,000, the French 1,000, the Maltese 1,200, the English 100, Austrians 80, Russians 25, Spanish, Prussians, Danes, &c., 100. The entire Frank population amounts to about 7,505; and if, from the whole population of Egypt that of the Bedouins of the Desert be deducted, the population will be found to fall short of 2,000,000.

The population of the large towns has increased rapidly of late years, but the increase has not kept pace with the progress of depopulation in the rural districts. The population of Cairo, previous to the plague of 1835, was 240,000; that of Alexandria at present amounts to 60,000. But in the former, there is no visible improvement or enlargement of the city, since I visited it in 1828; while in Alexandria, the rapidity of its progress astonished me.

On the peninsular called Rasel-Tein, forming one

arm of the old port to the east, a new palace has been built, an arsenal constructed, and a great number of public offices erected. The great square, or new Frank quarter, where the European consuls reside, has been recently constructed; when I was last here the site of it was a sandy plain; it is 800 paces long and 150 broad. There are three public hospitals, three places of Christian worship, and about thirty mosques.

Mohammed Ali seems bent on realizing the destiny Napoleon dreamt of giving to Alexandria. "This city," he said, "ought to be the capital of the world." When it was one of the capitals of the world, we are told by Pliny, the ancient city had five leagues of circumference, a population of three hundred thousand citizens, and as many more of slaves. This vast population of 600,000 souls (presuming that the 300,000 slaves had souls as well as the "citizens,") the wars and ravages of conquest, the iron rule of Saracens, Turks, and Mamelukes had reduced at the time of the French invasion, to 8,000 souls. What a comment on the results of foreign conquest—the reduction of the population of a city from 600,000 to about a thirty-sixth part of its inhabitants!

At this latter period, the walls with which the Saracens had enclosed the city, in 1212 were fallen

into ruin; the vast number of palaces, theatres, and public buildings of which Amrou had rendered an account to his master, Omar, had disappeared; and their foundations now are daily brought to light, by the excavations that are continually making, for material for the modern buildings of Alexandria. One of the most magnificent granite columns that ever has been discovered in Egypt, with the exception of Pompey's Pillar, I saw recently dug up in the new garden of Senor Gibarra, entirely perfect, the capital of basalt of extraordinary size, and the pedestal in one solid block of granite. Modern Alexandria, altogether, is a strange compound of squalor and magnificence. The miserable huts of the Arabs are congregated in the midst of the gigantic ruins of the ancient city; and these wretched abodes of theirs, form a striking contrast with the consular palaces and public edifices of Mohammed Ali.

RAYAHS.

The Rayahs of Egypt, consist of the Greeks, Syrians, Jews, Copts, and Armenians.

The Greeks are of two distinct classes; those who are the descendants of the Egyptian Greeks at the time of the Arab conquest, speak the Arabic language, and in their manners and modes of life

resemble the Arabs. They are small traders in provisions in the towns.

The Greeks who have come from the Morea, Albania, and the islands, are a distinct population; they follow commerce, and some of their merchants in Alexandria are men of considerable wealth. The Greeks who are Rayahs, amount to about three thousand, and the Frank Greeks to about two thousand. They chiefly belong to the Greek church.

The Syrians are very numerous in Egypt, especially in Damietta; their total number is about 5000. The majority belong to the Catholic Maronite church, and their women in Damietta are pre-eminently styled Levantine women, though the name is also given to the other christian Rayah women elsewhere. I have been intimately acquainted, especially at Damietta, with the families of these people, and they appear to me to be by far the most estimable of all the Rayah population of Egypt. I regret, however, to say, they are as intolerant as their neighbours, and their priests quite as ignorant and bigotted, and nearly as worldly-minded as those of the Greek church. But the profound ignorance, the gross superstition, and rabid fanaticism of the Coptic priests, cannot be exceeded by the clergy of any other sect in Egypt,

and I doubt if it can be equalled, except by the priests of the Greek schismatic church.

JEWS.

The Jews according to Lane, amount to 5000, Clot Bey makes them 7000; I am inclined to think, the latter number the nearest approximation to the truth. In Alexandria, they have two synagogues, (one, however, in decay,) and eight in Cairo. They pay the tribute tax, as well as the christians. Their religion is tolerated, and they are said to be protected from wrong and insult by the laws; but the laws, however, are not sufficiently strong to prevent them from the latter; and from my own personal observation, I must say, that suffering is still the badge of all their tribe in Egypt. I ventured to interfere in one case of gross insult and personal abuse, in the Jewish quarter, on the part of a young Mohammedan. The unfortunate Jew, whom he was maltreating, was old, and blind, and poor. The people of his nation all fled into their shops, in the greatest terror, when the young Mohammedan, in the midst of their altercation, cried out, "I'll make you pay for daring to speak against the faith of Islam." I was listening attentively to the words that passed between both, and not one syllable against the faith of Islam was spoken by the poor

Jew, but a protestation of poverty and inability to meet a demand made on him by the Mussulman for a sum of 150 piastres, which he said had been due to him by the Jew. For once in my life, my interference between the oppressor and the oppressed, ended satisfactorily to both parties and to myself.

The Jews are infinitely more despised than the christians by the Mohammedans, and much more opprobriously treated in all communications or altercations with them. The Pacha, who is not sanguinary on small occasions, put a Jew to death a few years ago, for taking gold coins at a smaller value than he had fixed upon them. In Alexandria and Cairo, the chief profession is that of money-changers or "serafs," dealers in trinkets, brokers, and some merchants. But there are few wealthy Jews in Egypt, and the few who are independent, make a very poor appearance, and reserve their means for in-door splendour, which strangers seldom or ever have opportunities of seeing, or denouncing as an evidence of wealth.

The Jewish population of Egypt is concentrated in Cairo. The quarter is obscure, filthy, and unwholesome. They are totally separated from communion or social intercourse, with persons of any other sect or creed. The Koran contributes to

render them despised and hated by the Turks. They are strongly attached to the observance of their religious rites, but their schools are miserable, and their females illiterate; they are ignorant and intolerant, but in their domestic relations they are irreproachable, and charitable in the extreme to one another when in distress.

LETTER XI.

The Copts—Their supposed descent—Religious belief—Patriarch of Alexandria—Priesthood—Ceremonials—Employment—Exemption from military service—Present degradation—Change of religion—Recognition of an old Coptic servant as a Turkish officer—Reasons for the change—The Armenians—Numbers—Trade—Boghos Bey—An Armenian church—Residence of the late Mr. Salt—The place of burial—Inscription on the tomb—Recollections.

THE COPTS form about a fourteenth part of the population of Egypt. There is every reason to believe they are the descendants of the Egyptians of ancient times; but little remains, either in their appearance or language, to denote their origin. Frequent intermarriages with Turks and Arabs have taken place amongst them. Their liturgy is in their ancient language; but few of their priests understand it, and none use it as a spoken language. The Nubian features and general conformation of the cranium are certainly, as I have observed in a former work, much more like those of the ancient Egyptians, as we find them in the embalmed bodies, or in their ancient sculptures, than any other distinct portion of the people of Egypt and Nubia. Pro-

bably they have intermarried less with strangers, and have undergone fewer changes, than the Coptic race. They are considerably darker than the latter in their complexion, but the colour of the people of those countries, deepens as we ascend the Nile, and assumes at Cordofan, the jet black of the negro race.

About six thousand of the Copts profess the Roman Catholic religion, but the great body are Eutychians or Jacobites in their doctrines. A schism amongst them so early as the reign of Constantine, led to great disorders, and eventually to the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, whom one sect of them invited to invade their country, in order to be revenged of another sect of their fellow-christians; and their bitter animosity has not slackened in our days.

Their religion is the same as that of the Abyssinians, and the head of their church at Cairo, "the Patriarch of Alexandria," as he is called, is said to be the successor of St. Mark.

The patriarch cannot marry; he is chosen from among the monks of St. Anthony's convent, on the borders of the Red Sea; and the head of the religion in Abyssinia is chosen by him. The Coptic priests cannot marry after ordination. Circumcision

is a common practice among all classes. Communion in one kind is used; and leavened bread employed on these occasions. Confessions, fastings, and pilgrimages, are amongst their observances. The Copts are much employed as public accountants, or "malims," tax collectors; and they are exempt from military service. They have shared the fate of every people who have called in foreign aid to subvert the yoke of their ancient tyrants. They stipulated for liberty with the enemy of their religion and their country, and the terms were broken when the invaders got possession of the land. Since that period they have been miserably oppressed, and their degradation has debased them, as far as I am capable of judging, far below the moral standard of the Moslem Arabs, or the christians of any other sect in Egypt. I had a striking proof of the little difficulty they make in changing their religion when I was last in Egypt. I met a man a few months ago on horseback, handsomely accoutred in the Turkish style, with his yatican by his side, outside the walls of Alexandria. I thought I remembered his face, as that of an old christian servant of mine in Egypt, some twelve or thirteen years ago. Notwithstanding the christian servant was a poor, timid, abject Rayah, and the Mussulman

before me was a bold, impudent-looking disciple of Mohammed, I called to him by the name of Ibrahim, which was that of the Copt who was my servant. As I was on foot, and he was on horseback, he hardly deigned to regard me, for it is in the East, as elsewhere, that fellows on horseback do look with contempt on pedestrians; however, he condescended to ask me, in a very gruff tone, what I wanted with Ibrahim—and who I was who called on Ibrahim? "Ibrahim," said I, "don't you know your old master, the hakkim?" Ibrahim stared hard for a second or two, forgot all the dignity of his Turkish character, and threw himself off his horse with the most un-Turkish precipitancy, to salaam his old master. When I asked him the meaning of the fine Turkish costume, and the long sword by his side, a christian like him to be thus accoutred, Ibrahim fetched a deep sigh. He said, he was no longer a christian; he had quarrelled with a Mussulman in a coffee-house, and this man, said he, had spoken against the law and the prophet of Islam—so he was taken before the Cadi, and was ordered to receive 1000 stripes of the courbash on his bare feet for blaspheming the religion of Mohammed. He protested he never spoke a word against it—that he believed in it. He made the

profession of faith, the sentence was remitted, and he now was the janissary of one of the most influential of the foreign consuls.

I met this man subsequently in the streets of Alexandria. I asked him, if he intended to live on and wished to die in his new religion. Ibrahim looked warily round him, and said—"It is of no use to talk or to think about these matters; Allah Kerim—God is good!" It was on this principle, that Sir Toby Butler satisfied his conscience on a similar emergency in our old Turkish times, when people, to save their fortune, like the Copts to save their feet, conformed to the religion of the state. Sir Toby said, he would rather trust his soul with God, than his property with Henry VIII.

ARMENIANS.

The Armenians in Egypt are not above 2000; they follow commercial pursuits, and have no established quarter in Cairo or Alexandria. They are on good terms with the Turks, and their stalls in the bazaars are generally filled with the richest commodities, with furs, jewellery, rich dresses, amber mouth-pieces, &c.

The head of their nation, Boghos Bey, is the prime minister of the Pacha. Many of them are employed in the public offices, and bear a high cha-

racter for steadiness and probity. They are divided into two sects—one portion, the great body of their people, rejecting the authority of the Pope, being subject to that of their own patriarch; the smaller number professing the Roman Catholic religion. The difference is very little between the two religions, but their animosity is very great. On going to visit the house of my late valued friend, Mr. Salt, formerly Consul-General of Egypt, situated at a short distance from Alexandria, I found with surprise the well-known house of my poor friend, converted into the Armenian church. The principal saloon, in which I had spent so many pleasant and instructive days and evenings for the greater part of three years, was now a darkened room with gaudy paintings and glimmering lamps burning before an altar, with a profusion of tawdry ornaments and daubs of paintings of saints and angels, that certainly were like nothing in the heavens above or on the earth beneath.

I sat down on a form at the opposite end of the room, where the divan was formerly placed, and contemplated the change that had taken place since I had first known this pleasant house, and last left it with poor Salt, when I accompanied him up the Nile, and to which he returned no more in life.

This *sanctum sanctorum*, as he used to call the

room in which he kept his books and papers, was now the vestry-room of the chapel. The spot over the door where the portrait of his beloved daughter used to hang, was occupied with some glaring picture; and on looking into the garden from the balcony—where he had spent so much time and money in beautifying those grounds—it was quite melancholy to see how everything had gone to ruin. I had spent many an hour with him in this once delightful garden that he took so much pride in, discoursing of Egypt and its ancient people, the antiquities he had collected, the progress he had made in the knowledge of the ancient language, and availing myself of those stores of classic and antiquarian lore which Mr. Salt was ever ready to communicate to those around him. The wells and reservoirs which he had constructed at so much cost, for the irrigation of the grounds, had fallen into decay. One small wheel only was at work for the irrigation of a patch of ground, in which some vegetables were grown. I hardly thought it possible that twelve years could have brought so much to ruin, and effected so great a change.

In a corner of the garden now walled in, and converted into a small cemetery, beside an ancient slab with a Greek funeral inscription, which I well remember having assisted him to place on the summit of a

hillock, in the left-hand corner of the garden, the remains of poor Salt were deposited. A handsome cenotaph has been erected to his memory, and it bears the following inscription:—"Here sleep the mortal remains of Henry Salt, Esq., a native of the city of Lichfield; H. B. M's Consul-General in Egypt. He twice penetrated into Abyssinia, with the hope of restoring the long-broken intercourse between the nations of Europe and that barbarized christian land. His ready genius exposed and elucidated the hieroglyphics and other antiquities of this country. His faithful and rapid pencil, and the nervous originality of his untutored verses, conveyed to the world vivid ideas he delighted to depict, in the midst of his importaut duties and useful pursuits. He was in the 48th year of his age, and, after a short illness, summoned, as we trust, to his better and eternal home, on the 29th of October, in the year of our Lord 1827."

If I have conveyed in these letters any information of higher interest than this brief notice of the tomb of a British functionary, who upheld the interests of his country, who cultivated science and delighted in literary pursuits, I trust I shall be excused for gratifying my own feelings by ending these letters with this reminiscence of an old and valued friend.

LETTER XII.

Importance of being acquainted with Eastern affairs—Information requested—On the policy and motives of France in supporting the Pacha—The general and expressed sentiments of the French—Their grand design—The Bonaparte of peace—French travellers in the East—Commodore Nott's report on the state of Abyssinia—Native chiefs—War between Kassai and Oubeeah—Origin of the war—Christian slaves—Distribution of arms by a French vessel—French colony on the borders of the Red Sea—Reasons for Clot Bey's attachment to Mohammed Ali—An Arab empire—The future intentions of France seen in their present policy as it regards Egypt and Turkey—M. de Lamartine's argument on the subject—Proposed division of the East by the great powers of Europe—Want of more room in France—Revelation of M. Thiers.

I FIND by a letter from a gentleman, whose knowledge of Eastern affairs is very extensive, that in my recent endeavours to throw some light on the present state of Egypt, I have rather attempted to describe the extent of French influence in Egypt, than to give any explanations of its designs. The gentleman who addresses me on this subject, is a person of cultivated mind, and whose acquaintance with the people and the politics of the East, is of long standing; he was the travelling companion o Dr. Holland in Greece, many years ago, and since

that period, he has taken a deep interest in all that concerns the affairs of Turkey and its provinces. I mention these things, because they show that if persons like him, feel they want information on this subject, the Eastern question is one, which a vast number of people either underrate the importance of, or are only acquainted with, by the means of its obvious and prominent results.

This gentleman says :—"I take a lively interest in the affairs of Egypt. I wish you would shortly explain what I have not yet seen satisfactorily explained—the real policy and motives of France, in supporting the Pacha against *all* the hazards of a general war. Are they ulterior views on Egypt and Syria, for the interests of her redundant population? Are they directed towards the creation of a pro-consulate or protectorate influence in Egypt? or is the fate of Egypt, after the death of Mohammed Ali uncertain, as it seems to be speculated on? In short, I have never seen the political bearings of the whole question laid down; and without these, the special pleading of state papers is of no use. It certainly would be, in me, the height of folly to presume to penetrate into the views or designs of France on Egypt and Syria. I feel myself competent, however, to form an opinion of the drift of the meaning of the peculiar views of

those French writers, who have written on Egypt of late years, and of the scope and tendency of the periodical literature of France, in the treatment of the Egyptian question for some time past. I cannot disconnect the sentiments of the French in Egypt, from those I have heard generally expressed in France, and in the course of a great deal of communication with the officers of the French navy, on board their packets, I find it impossible to form any other opinion of the views entertained on the subject of the Eastern question than this—that the people of France, at home and abroad, its periodical press, its officers in the Levant, its subordinate functionaries in Egypt, breathe but one language in respect to the right and interest of France, to have its influence dominant in Egypt. How far the pressure from without, of any universal feeling in favour of political views, on any question of great national interest in France, may influence their government, I cannot say. How far that universal feeling may be secretly fostered, or encouraged by members of the government, individually at one time, or collectively at another, I cannot presume to determine. Whether a particular minister has thrown the bread of Egyptian conquest and colonization on the waters of national vanity, and expected after many days, it would be brought

back on the triumphant wave of public opinion, or whether it has come to his hands accidentally, and he has prematurely forced it on his colleagues, and they have thrown it back on the popular wave, to be sought after at a more convenient time, it is difficult to say. One thing is certain, the public mind of France is taken possession of, by the idea of Egyptian colonization, and a vague notion of the interests of France, being compensated for the advantages which Great Britain derives from India, by the permanent domination of French influence in Egypt, whether by the stratagerie of diplomacy or by war. The acquisition of Egypt by the latter mode, was attempted by Napoleon, and it failed.

"The great design of Napoleon of making 'a French lake of the Mediterranean,' of conquering England in India, of making amends for the loss of the West Indies, by the possession of Egypt, I have already referred to, in the words of Napoleon. It is the fashion now for persons who are supposed to speak the sentiments of men in power, to discriminate between the home government and the foreign policy of Napoleon, to condemn the former and to extol the latter. It is said, that all the great designs of Napoleon's foreign policy are feasible, and that it is the interest of France by all means, to carry them into execution. The present ruler of

France, who knows the interests of his country too well to think they are to be benefited by war, has felt it his duty to promote these interests, and to extend their influence by all the means which were compatible with peace; and he speaks of himself, and not without much reason, in relation to the extension he has given to French influence in foreign countries, as 'the Bonaparte of peace.'

"The government of France has given an extraordinary impetus to the enterprise of its subjects in all parts of Africa bordering on the Nile and the Red Sea, for the last five years. A host of travellers in the service of the French government, have been distributed over Nubia, Abyssinia, and Western Arabia—persons of great intelligence, of considerable activity, and not particularly friendly to our commercial or political views, in the opinion of our agents, wherever they may come; and neither at Aden nor at Massouah, have their proceedings been of late, without needing a good deal of attention."

The following brief extracts from a report made by acting Commander Nott, of the Indian navy, will throw some light on this subject:—

"STATE OF ABYSSINIA.

"In the province of Tigré, near the sea, there are two chiefs, one named Kassai, and the other

Oubeeah. The latter, the hereditary prince of the province of Samen, is consequently a subject of the governor of Gondar. Oubeeah overran the part of Tigré and possesses now Adoa and Axum; Kassai possesses the mountains to the south-west of Arkeeko; these are sterile, but he possesses also the salt plains which supply salt to all Abyssinia; a commodity used as money. A dollar, in Gondar, is worth thirty-five pieces of salt.

"Kassai, is generally preferred by the people to Oubeeah, and he has lately, by the assistance of English muskets, obtained a great victory over Oubeeah, and forced him to sue for peace, which has been concluded.

"Gondar obeys Ras Alli, and his mother, who is reported as being very clever in government affairs.

"To the north of Gondar are the provinces of Denbayah and Gomoduyah; they are commanded by a general of Ras Alli's, named Coomfao. This is the individual who, in the month of April last, obtained a signal victory over the Pacha of Egypt's troops (commanded by Keorshid Bey) at Muttammah, a town taken by the Pacha from the Abyssinians. The occasion of the war is said to be as follows:—Koorshid Bey made an inroad into Abyssinia, and captured one thousand three hundred christians, whom he despatched to Sennaar.

"The war is not yet at an end. It is reported

that the Pacha of Egypt has sent a great reinforcement of troops to Gondar, which is eight days' journey for an army. Koorshid Bey is said to have written to the governor of Gondar, to say that he would shortly be in his town and profane all his churches.

"Koorshid Bey is now (4th March, 1838,) absent on leave at Cairo."

Such was the state of things when Commander Nott's report was drawn up, about a year and a half ago. These dissensions in the country have not been disregarded, and advantage has been very recently sought to be taken of them. So lately as the month of August last, a French vessel of war was lying in the Island of Massouah, on the coast of Abyssinia, with 10,000 stand of arms on board for distribution among the people, whom they are desirous of entering into alliance with; and it is stated on authority there is reason to rely on, that the object of making this alliance is, for effecting a permanent settlement in that country, and of establishing a colony on the borders of the Red Sea.

Of these circumstances, and of the grounds for the belief that is entertained of such being the object that is in view, there is no doubt in the minds of persons of intelligence who have been at Aden and Massouah within the last three months.

In fact, the failure of the conquest of Algiers for the purpose of colonization in that part of Africa, instead of repressing the desire for extending French dominion on that continent, has only increased the rage for the establishment of French settlements in that country. Is it possible that the scheme, magnificently wild, attributed to Napoleon —and of the practicability of which, Clot Bey has recently stated his strong conviction, and for the accomplishment of which, he asserts, he has attached himself to the fortunes of Mohammed Ali, namely, of establishing one great Arab empire in all these regions—is the object, or intended to be made the nominal one, for the extension of French influence in Africa? Is it possible that the fostering of such an idea in the mind of Mohammed Ali is meant to be made subservient to the interests of France? Is it possible that the protection of France for such an empire has been looked to for the denomination of its influence in those countries? To form any opinion of such possibilities, it is necessary to consider what reasonable chance for the permanence of Mohammed Ali's government exists in Egypt, or the countries he has conquered. What interest has France in the extension of his territory? What influence has France contrived to establish in Egypt? What results are likely to follow from the

dismemberment of Turkey? What counsel placed the Sultan's fleet in the hands of Mohammed Ali? What interference prevented the restitution of Syria to the Sultan? The answers to these questions could lead to no other opinion, than this—that the policy pursued by France was calculated to establish such a dominant influence in Egypt as would enable its government, on the death of Mohammed Ali, or at the outbreak of war between the great European powers, to take advantage of that war, or of the disorders in Egypt that might be expected to take place at the death of its present ruler, to offer the assistance of her troops to the Egyptian government, and if accepted, to render the need of that assistance a permanent necessity for her protection. In the words of Lamartine, "the protected country will pass in a few years altogether into the system of the protecting nation." M. de Lamartine has a compendious way of solving all the difficulties that might be expected to arise from the partition of the Turkish empire. He says, "there is but a resolution to take, a protection to declare, a flag to unfurl." As to the right of making European colonies of these Eastern countries, he says, it is to be done "by the right of humanity and civilization; it is not the right of the strong I invoke; force confers no right, but it affords facility

in action." But at the conclusion of his argument he frankly admits that force does confer right; he says, "I would say at once that, in certain cases, power is right." But it is not a French colonization scheme only that M. de Lamartine proposes, but a general one, in which all the great powers of Europe are to make a partition of the spoils of Turkey. Syria and Cyprus are to belong to France. Egypt to England, Austria and Russia are to have the provinces bordering on their empires. "But it is especially the want of more room in France"—"the exuberance of life which threatens to break bounds" in that country—"the absolute necessity that the expansion without, should be in proportion to the immense expansion within, which has been produced by the revolution in affairs," that has caused M. de Lamartine to turn his attention to "the boundless stage that is opened to the population and resources of Europe," "in the East and in Asia." Lamartine's project may fall short of Napoleon's idea of "converting the Mediterranean into a French lake;" it may differ very much from Clot's Bey's notions of the advantages of "an Arab empire;" both of these views may seem visionary to Monsieur Thiers and "the fourth estate" in France, which that gentleman has been riding on the whirlwind of, and by his agency of late, directing the storm in the East;

but one quixotic idea pervades the minds of all—that Eastern colonization is necessary for France—that her honour as well as her interests, require more successful efforts than she has yet made, to afford an outlet, not so much for her redundant population, as for the exuberant vigour of the restless, discontented spirits of "young France." The whole tendency of the policy pursued towards Mohammed Ali was certainly calculated (had it been left a little longer unchecked) to render Egypt very fit for such an outlet; but whether it was intended to render it so, I leave it to my correspondent to determine, and to lift the veil of diplomacy, and bring the glare of a recent revelation of M. Thiers, to bear upon the subject—"It was in Alexandria that France had to seek and establish her true influence over the Mediterranean."

LETTER XIII.

Presentation of Address from the Anti-Slavery Convention to Mohammed Ali—Reception—Discussion on the subject of Slavery—West Indies referred to—Annual loss to Africa—Frightful mortality—Reason given by the Pacha—Visit to the slave-market—Treatment of Slaves by Mohammedan and Christian countries compared—Manumitted Slaves—Absence of prejudice against colour—Attachment of slaves to the religion of their masters—This fact illustrated in Cuba—The testimony of Missionaries—The Addresses from the Convention.

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE OF EGYPT.

On the 4th of August, 1840, I presented to his Highness Mohammed Ali, at his new palace, in Alexandria, an address from the Anti-slavery Convention, recently held in London, and signed on the part of the Convention, by the venerable Thomas Clarkson. This address was expressive of the great satisfaction felt by the Convention at the part taken by his Highness in his expedition into Eastern Africa when he verbally prohibited, at Fezaglon, the practice pursued by his army, of making slave hunts, for the purpose of supplying his army with slaves, and even of paying the soldiers with the

men stolen in the countries where his troops were stationed. The address further expressed an anxious desire, that this barbarous trade should be totally prohibited in every part of his dominions.

His Highness received the address with apparent feelings of the greatest satisfaction, and the deepest interest, in the object of its prayer. He entered into an animated conversation with Colonel Hodges, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General and myself, on the subject of slavery in general. And I have seldom seen him, apparently so pleased with any communication made to him, and to all appearances, so well disposed towards the subjects on which he was addressed, as on the present occasion. In fact, nothing could be more gracious than his reception of the address.

In the course of the long conversation that took place, I was greatly struck with the shrewdness of his observations. He spoke a good deal, and not one word that was not pertinent to the subject, or calculated to make the impression he desired. In the course of this conversation, he said, "I have thought a great deal on the subject of slavery for months together; I have thought on this subject. It is a difficult question to settle here." "It is a question of law, and as such it must be decided on, in Constantinople," and with a very significant smile

" if you would succeed in putting down slavery, you must go to Constantinople."

I replied, " it is because we are very desirous of success, we look to your Highness for putting an end to the abominable traffic in Egypt. It is in the power of your Highness to prevent it on the part of your own subjects." He smiled and said, " ' In shallah,' I would be very glad to abolish it altogether; but we must give the people education first, slavery here is a very different thing to what it is in your countries." I said " it was a bad thing everywhere, however the slaves were treated, the men were stolen and their country was ravaged." "You found it a difficult thing to abolish slavery in your colonies," said Mohammed Ali, " and here the difficulty would be much greater, for the people are accustomed to the services of the slaves, and if there were no more to be found in the market, they would complain as they did before, when I prevented my troops making the slave hunts in Senaar."

The Consul observed, " that the existence of the slave market in Alexandria was a scandal to the place." The Pacha replied, "what can be done? slavery exists by law, and it is only at Constantinople, it can be changed." " I told his Highness, that the subject we had been speaking about was the trade in slaves, and that it

depended on him to put a total stop to the engagement of his people in it."

The Pacha then said, "I have read lately, that a European vessel had been seized with slaves carrying them to the West Indies, so that you have not yet been able to put down the trade yourselves."

"I said it was very true, that two European countries, Spain and Portugal disgraced themselves by suffering their subjects to carry on this trade, and that the trade so far from being put down, was greater than it ever had been, for, that the ravages of this trade annually lost to Africa little short of 300,000 human beings, about one-third of which survived the hardships they encountered, and lived to be sold into slavery in Cuba and the Brazils."

The Pacha replied, "The difficulty is to civilize them in their own country, and accustom them to modes of life like ours. I tried to make soldiers of them some years ago, but they died here, and wherever they were sent; on one occasion, about 7000 of them died in a short time. It was the difference of living and the change from the bare necessaries of life, to a sudden abundance of food, which affected their health, and caused them to perish; now I have only three or four hundred of them, and I do not allow my people to make slave-hunts to procure them any more. In their own

country they live on almost nothing. There is no peace amongst them—here is one tribe living on this mountain—here's a second marauding on another—here's a third at war with both, all at war, hunting one another, and making slaves."

To this I replied, "In order to sell them, they did so, and the prayer of the memorial I had the honour to present to his Highness was, that he would prevent his people from taking any part in this trade, and give all his assistance to suppress it." He seemed extremely pleased, and concluded the conversation by saying, "May it please God to enable me to do so." But I have so little faith in Turkish "In shallahs," that I was a little suspicious of the human assistance intended to be given to our cause by his Highness. The fact is, nothing has been yet done in Egypt to give any effectual check to the slave-trade.

On visiting the slave market, I found it as it existed twelve years ago, crowded with female negroes, mostly children under fourteen years. I saw only one Abyssinian, and no white slaves at all. On inquiring the prices, I found that of the female children about one-third more than that of the male. A female child of ten or twelve years old, sixty-five dollars; a boy of the same age forty; an adult negress eighty dollars. There was not an

adult male negro slave in the bazaar. The sheds of the slave mart in Alexandria have fallen into decay since my last visit. Fortunately for humanity there were no Greek lands to be ravaged by the soldiers of his Highness; and, consequently, there were no christian women exposed for sale in the markets. I inquired particularly for white slaves, having heard of the fate of the unfortunate Druse women of Syria, who were recently enslaved, carried away, and sold by the Albanian soldiers of Ibrahim Pacha; those lawless mercenaries whom Mohammed Ali could not keep in Egypt on account of their turbulence, and who were let loose on the unfortunate people of Syria, in the late insurrection. However, I had the satisfaction to find, that none of these poor women had been carried to Alexandria, and that the Pacha had given orders to have them taken out of the hands of the Albanians and restored to their friends. One of the slave-dealers in the market directed us to a lane off the bazaar, where he told us some merchants were to be found who had white women for sale. On proceeding there, we were informed, that at that moment there were no women, either Circassian or Georgian for sale, the last they had were sold. These women, christians are not permitted openly to purchase, but the negro slaves, there is no objection made to their buying.

There are two classes of Abyssinians brought to this market. 1st. Those from the borders of the Red Sea, who are the most esteemed for their beauty and symmetry; and 2nd. Those from the Galla country, who are almost black, and their hair inclining to the woolly texture of the negro.

The Negroes come from Darfour, Cordofan, and Camamel. The slave-dealers are Ethiopians, coming from Nubia, and are called "Gellabs," and they carry their slave "coffle" to Cairo and Alexandria. There is as much difference in the negroes, they bring down, in complexion, language, habits, and intelligence, as amongst the Bozals brought into Cuba, from the western coasts of Africa.

The negro-slaves in Egypt are far better off than those in christian countries. It is the custom to attribute the mildness of slavery in Mohammedan countries, to the influence of their religion. That religion teaches its followers, to be humane and considerate to their slaves, to look upon the latter as their poorer brethren, committed to their charge. But it is a bad compliment to our creed, to attribute the superior mildness of Turkish slavery, to the influence of the Mohammedan religion. Surely our own is not wanting in injunctions to masters, to do that which is just and equal to their servants—and to do unto all men, whether bond or free, as we

would be done unto. But wherever slavery has existed in christian countries, we have found the precepts of religion borne down by the grasping tyranny of avarice, invested with power, and the passion for domination uncontrolled by executable laws.

The difference in the condition of slaves in Mohammedan and Christian countries, is caused by the difference in the employments of prædial and of domestic slaves. Wherever slaves are purchased for the cultivation of the soil, the rigour of slavery is great in proportion to the prosperity of their employers; for the lust of gain increases as the successfulness of its pursuit goes on advancing, and the hardships of its victims are augmented, the more their toil is rendered profitable to their masters. I speak of the present profitableness of slave labour, for its prospective advantages are seldom looked to, where large profits and great hazards are combined. In christian lands, where slaves are bought chiefly for prædial labour, the system of slavery has to contend with the hostility of public opinion in all enlightened European countries directed against it, in the slave-holding states and colonies, and with the fears of the slaveholders for the permanence of slavery. There is but

one passion stronger than fear to induce them to uphold this system, and that is avarice, and they are content to incur any amount of odium, for the sake of making money.

In the East, on the contrary, luxury is the origin and the occasion of slavery, slaves are bought for domestic servitude; the respectability of people is estimated by the number and the appearance of their household slaves. The greater the number, the more opulent is the owner supposed to be, and as a matter of course, the more numerous the retinue, the less occupation for the slaves. There is this distinction likewise to be made, that while the grasping eagerness of avarice for gain prompts its votaries continually, to wring new profits from the toil of its victims, the enervating influence of luxury unfits its slaves for any branch of industry, by which the service of its attendants might be turned to a profitable account. The poorer classes, moreover, in Mohammedan countries, who hold slaves not from motives of pride or pomp, but simply for the purpose of domestic service, are those amongst whom the condition of slaves is the worst. Their female negro slaves are generally condemned to a life of domestic drudgery, they are seldom

allowed to go abroad, and still more seldom allowed to marry with people of their own race. On the death of their owners they are liable to be sold again, or for any signal misconduct or defect after they have been purchased, they may again be sent to the market place. They are likewise subject to the caprices of their owner's wives, and frequently are exposed to the resentment of their jealousies; and the use of the courbash is by no means uncommon in the harems of people of the middle classes.

In the harems of the great, the separation of the sexes among the negro slaves is no less strict, but the decencies of Turkish life forbid any cruelty of treatment in the way of corporal punishment, in the chopping and changing of their slaves, in the selling of them when once they have given birth to a child which is the fruit of a union that has been permitted by the master; or, after any lengthened period of service after the master's death.

Manumission is common, and the manumitted negro has no prejudice against his colour, or illiberality on account of his former condition to encounter; he finds no distinction made in any society he has the means to enter into. He prays to God beside his fellow-man of a different complexion to his own in the mosque, his remains are interred in

the same place of burial as those of the same believers of another hue; in fact, what Americans say they hold to be true, Turks show they believe to be so, and by their practice prove how people of another creed belie their declaration—that all men are equal and capacitated for the pursuit of freedom and happiness.

There is one characteristic quality in negroes, that I have observed in all countries where they happen to be slaves, their strong attachment to the religion of the people into whose power they have fallen, wherever they have received any instruction in the doctrines of the religion they have embraced. In the East, the strength of this attachment amounts to fanaticism. Every traveller who has had opportunities of observing the demeanour of negroes in the performance of their religious duties has been struck with the fervour displayed by them in the mosques, and in public places where Mohammedan devotions are performed. In Cuba, the free negroes residing in the large towns, who have been instructed in the religion of that country, or who have had opportunities of instructing themselves in its doctrines, are the most observant of all classes, of its forms, the most regular in their attendance on its worship, and the most zealous in their attachment to it. The priests who are virtuous, and the laity

who are enlightened, acknowledge that the little of religion which is to be found amongst them, is amongst the free people of colour, and the domestic slaves of respectable families in large towns. In our own colonies, the missionaries bear testimony to the strength of the religious feeling which pervades the coloured people. It may be said, that the sentiment of veneration for a superior being which is supposed to exist amongst people the least enlightened, is an evidence only of the aptitude for superstition of uncultivated minds. But we find the more the minds of the negroes are cultivated, the stronger this sentiment of veneration for a Supreme Being becomes, and the very facility with which they are detached from their own superstitions, and brought over to the knowledge, and firmly established in the belief of any creed, whose great doctrine is the existence of one God, the Creator and Governor of the universe; proves, I think, most fully, that there is a peculiar fitness in their minds for the reception of the divine truths of religion.

ADDRESSES PRESENTED FROM THE GENERAL ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION, TO HIS HIGHNESS MOHAMMED ALI PACHA, VICEROY OF EGYPT, &c. &c. &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

AN assembly of men gathered from various parts

of the world are now met in this capital to discuss the best means of putting an end to slavery and the slave-trade.

It came to their knowledge then, that when a representation was made to your Highness, that the Egyptian troops had been engaged in hunting slaves, and had received slaves in payment of their wages, your Highness was pleased to communicate your dissatisfaction, and to express your wish "to abolish a dishonourable traffic, even though its abolition should be attended with some sacrifices.

Your Highness's declaration has been laid before the parliament of Great Britain, and has thus come to the knowledge, not only of the British people, but of the civilized world; and I am instructed by this Convention, to convey to your Highness the expression of their gratitude for the steps you have already taken, and their most earnest hope that you will deign to give complete effect to your just and generous intentions. They will hail with delight every pacific measure which your Highness may adopt, in order to impede the importation of, and the trade in, slaves. They have witnessed with much satisfaction all that has been done to encourage and protect the blacks in their painful pursuits of agriculture, and are persuaded, not only that the tranquillity, but the prosperity both of government

and people are intimately connected with that unmolested industry which can never exist, while the persons and the properties of the negroes are exposed to unchecked violence; they would trust that your highness might also consent to abolish the slave markets in Egypt—and if they thus urge on your Highness these, their most respectful solicitations, it is that they have been encouraged by past evidence of your humane purposes to appeal to you, for giving them their full development.

I have the honour to be,
Your Highness's,
Most devoted humble servant,
(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON,
President.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

"Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."—Righteousness is comprehended and enforced in this precept of the Lord Jesus Christ—"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." We are all, of whatever nation and clime, by nature, the

children of Adam; with the great Creator of all things, there is no respect of persons; all men are brethren, and in this relation of brotherhood, they are all entitled to the equal enjoyment of personal and civil liberty.

Slavery and the slave trade are violations of this great principle. The assumption by man of a right of property in man, is in open opposition to the pure and righteous law of God; and hence the perpetration of these crimes has ever been found to obstruct the happiness of man. Oppression and cruelty are their certain attendants; they have their origin in pride and avarice, and they foment and strengthen all the evil passions of the human heart.

In later years, the attention of the world has been increasingly directed to these enormous sins, and the Congress of the Representatives of the Sovereigns assembled at Verona, in November, 1822, declared that they considered the slave trade, "as a scourge which has too long desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity." The slave-trade continues to exist in an aggravated form.

It is estimated that upwards of 30,000 human beings are annually sacrificed on the continent of Africa, in the prosecution of this wicked traffic. In

addition, upwards of 70,000 are annually transferred from the older to the more newly settled slave-states in the United States of North America. Millions of the human race are also still retained in unrighteous and cruel bondage.

This Convention, therefore, being solemnly impressed with a sense of the national sin of slavery and the slave trade, and under a settled conviction that the only effectual means to put an end to the slave-trade is to abolish slavery, does most earnestly and respectfully appeal to your Highness, to employ all that influence and power, with which Divine Providence has entrusted you, to secure immediate and unconditional liberty to the slave.

It is high time that the civilized world, and more especially those nations which bear the christian name, should purge themselves from these foul abominations. We open our mouth for the dumb, and plead for our brethren, who cannot plead for themselves. The Lord Jesus Christ died upon the cross equally for them as for us.

Great Britain has at length manumitted the slaves in the West India and in other colonies. It has been declared by the law of the British government, that slavery shall for ever cease in those colonies. The happiest results have ensued.

Most gratifying reports have been now presented,

showing that the negroes have peaceably exchanged a state of slavery for one of freedom. Industry prevails, prosperity increases, and christianity is honoured and practised.

We desire reverently to commit this cause to God. We implore his blessing on this appeal. We pray that through the power of the Holy Spirit, rulers and subjects may in all countries be brought to receive and to act upon the gospel of our Holy Redeemer; and that the day may be hastened when violence shall no more be heard throughout the habitable earth, wasting or destruction within her borders.

(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON,
President.

LETTER XIV.

Reference to the address—The members of the Anti-slavery Convention—The venerable Thomas Clarkson—Slave trade, a source of revenue—Tax on slaves sold in Cairo and Alexandria — Constantinople — Smyrna — Trade protected by the Grand Seignior—Slave markets—Slave carrying under the flag of Austria—Slave-hunts—Present numbers in the markets at Alexandria and Cairo—Liberation of slaves at Fezaglou—French agent at Cartoon—His infamous avocation.—"Storage" or "breeding" of slaves—Tirant, a French physician, a slave-trader—Mode of capturing negroes —Cruelties practised—Murders perpetrated—Precepts of the Mohammedan religion not to be charged with this crime—Power to suppress it in the government—A barbarous practice in Egypt—Degradation—Torture and death of its victims—Their number—Recapitulation—Mortality of slaves accounted for—Barbarities inflicted by the slave-traders of Nubia and Egypt—The voyage down the Nile—Spanish slavers—Conclusion.

TO MOHAMMED ALI.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

ON the 4th of September last, I had the honour to lay before your Highness an address from the delegates of the Anti-slavery Convention, recently held in London, expressive of the gratification it afforded that body to learn that your Highness, in

your late expedition into Africa, had prohibited the crime of man stealing, and the practice of paying the Egyptian troops stationed in Dongola, Sennaar, and Cordofan, in slaves—a practice which, on the part of your authorities, had hitherto been pursued without let or hinderance.

The communication I had the honour to lay before your Highness, further expressed an ardent hope, that the slave-trade in every place that is subject to your authority would be entirely prohibited, and the great evil of slavery itself ultimately abolished.

These sentiments and wishes, may it please your Highness, are well deserving of consideration, and, even on account of the character of those who have expressed them, are worthy of attention.

The persons who composed that Convention (some 400 individuals) were men delegated by bodies of great moral weight and influence in every quarter of the globe, to represent their enlightened and benevolent opinions in that assembly.

They were not selected for the sake of their rank or wealth, but on account of their worth and intelligence—their devotion to the cause of civil, personal, and religious liberty; and the boldness of their maintenance of the interests of humanity wherever they were assailed.

The illustrious man who signed that address, the venerable Clarkson, one whose name is familiar to men's ears in Europe and America, as that of an old and faithful friend of the good cause of justice and humanity, is now an aged man, full of years, whom the people of his own country revere and honour, and whose title to the best of all renown is based on the bloodless triumphs of benevolence, on the heroism of his patience and his perseverance in this cause, and the singleness of purpose and simplicity of heart with which he has laboured in its service for upwards of fifty years.

The signing of this paper on the part of the venerable man whose earthly career is now fast drawing to its close, is probably the last public act of his long and useful life; and, subscribed as it is, to the expression of sentiments of respect and gratitude for your Highness, it may surely be said, without disparagement to the loftiest station, or the highest fame, that the greatest of living men might add new lustre to their renown, by evincing in their attachment to this cause and the service rendered to it, that they merited the distinction of receiving from a body of men so justly entitled to respect a similar communication, and one bearing the signature of Thomas Clarkson.

Deputed by that body to communicate these sen-

timents to your Highness, the best token I can give of being in some slight degree deserving of their confidence is, by addressing your Highness plainly and unreservedly, without fear or forgetfulness of your authority, or any feeling of distrust in the disposition of your Highness to hear the truth; and, likewise by distinctly pointing out the glaring evils of this nefarious traffic in human beings, so extensively carried on by your people, and by respectfully but frankly stating to your Highness that the single measure taken at Fezaglou for the repression of this crime on the part of your authorities is utterly insufficient to meet an evil of such magnitude as this.

On the occasion of my presenting the address of the Anti-slavery Convention to your Highness, I observed with feelings of unfeigned satisfaction the interest your Highness evidently took in the question of the abolition of the slave-trade, and I fully understand that your Highness is persuaded of the necessity that exists for the total suppression of it.

While this trade, however, continues (as I am sorry to find it does) to be a source of revenue to your Highness, it is in vain to talk of its suppression at Sennaar. I find for each slave sold in the bazaars of Cairo and Alexandria, a tax is paid to your Highness of one dollar, and on the exportation of each

slave another dollar. Independently of these duties levied by your highness on the sale of men, there is a direct permission sold to every Gellab to exercise his vile calling, and become a member of the company of slave dealers, in the same way that the various classes of artisans, bakers, butchers, shoemakers, &c., in Cairo and Alexandria are licensed, and obtain the privileges of a monopoly in the exercise of their respective callings—a license which is called essendof, and given to the Gellabs as to any other company, legally sanctioned by your highness. It unfortunately happens, that it is not in Egypt only, but at Constantinople, and at Smyrna likewise, that this trade in human beings is turned to the account of government, and that a revenue is derived from it. A tax of two-and-a-half per cent. is levied by the Sultan on the sale of every slave, or one para in the piastre of the price of each, on the payment of which tax, a paper called the "penjik," or license, is given to the Gellab, and is regarded as evidence of the legality of the sale. Your Highness must, therefore, feel that any application to the Mufti at Constantinople to obtain his consent to the change in the law which I have heard recently suggested, would be preposterous, while the Grand Seignior protects the trade and derives revenue from it.

But I grieve to say, that on inquiring into the nature and extent of the measures which your Highness is desirous should be taken to stop this traffic on the part of your officers, nothing whatever has been yet done to give effect to the orders issued for its prevention.

Since I had the honour of conversing with your Highness on this subject, I have visited the slave-markets of Alexandria and Cairo—the former frequently. I have also anxiously inquired into the truth of the reports we have received in England, of the cessation of the slave-hunts on the part of your people in the upper country, and consequently of the limitation of slavery, and the hinderance of the trade in slaves.

I have made these inquiries of persons worthy of all confidence, of persons who had even recently returned from Sennaar—of those who had actually accompanied your troops in the African slave hunts; and, expecting to find the trade impeded, the imports diminished, and the markets depressed, I was grieved to find these markets thronged with slaves as heretofore, every notion of decency outraged as of old, in the centre of your cities; the women in these stalls, in many instances, exposed to the public gaze in a state of nudity, or exhibited to the purchaser with a scanty covering round the

loins, or a greasy rug hanging about their shoulders —the unfortunate creatures still subjected to the same cattle-like treatment, to the same exposure and examination of their persons; and, moreover, on the authority of the slave-traders themselves, the continuance of the "hunts," and the extension of the ravages of the Egyptian plunderers, on the borders of Abyssinia, still going on.

It was with great surprise I discovered that the export of negro slaves from Alexandria to Constantinople and Smyrna was still carried on under the protection of European flags; that one "cargo" of human beings, only a few weeks ago, had been shipped on board an Austrian vessel for Smyrna, and that fraudulent declarations had been allowed to be made, in which the slaves were described as the "servants" of the shipper.

And with no less wonder have I learned that within the last twelve-months two slave-hunts have been conducted with all the regularity and parade of a large military movement, and not only were connived at, but were actually aided and abetted by the authorities of your Highness at Sennaar and its neighbouring districts.

An opinion, notwithstanding, had of late become prevalent in England, that you had taken such measures for the ultimate abolition of the slave-

trade, as had already sensibly affected slavery itself, or at least diminished the supply on which that system mainly depended for its continuance. It can hardly be imagined how much error has been disseminated on this subject amongst a class of persons not much accustomed to be deceived by the apologists of those who sanction slavery, or give to its terrors the blandishments of an under-stated account of its enormities, and a very exaggerated one of the steps that have been taken for their prevention. Nor will your highness be able, very readily to comprehend the extent of our credulity, when you consider, only for a moment, the crowded state of the slave-markets of Alexandria and Cairo. At the present time, there are nearly 200 women and children exposed for sale in the slave-markets of Cairo, and upwards of 100 in that of Alexandria. On the 30th of August, 1840, the following were the numbers in the slave-market of Cairo :—

Abyssinian	women	17
Ditto	boys	9
Negro	women	75
Ditto	boys	90
		191

These returns were obtained from one of the principal Gellabs of the slave-market at Cairo ; and

the following from the general book of registry, kept by the same person, of all the slaves brought from the upper country, to the year ending the 31st of August, 1840:—

Abyssinian	women . . .	1700	
Ditto	children . .	120	
Negro	women . . .	3000	
Ditto	children . .	270	
			5090
Eunuchs	. . . . .		400
Negro men of different countries, not brought down to the markets of Cairo and Alexandria, and sold in Sennaar, Darfour, &c.			5000
			10,490

So that the number of negroes captured by your people, in the different slave-hunts during the year, ending the 31st of August, 1840, exceeded ten thousand.

Now, I have positive information that a large portion of this number were captured by marauding parties, composed chiefly of your soldiers, and consisting of so many as a thousand persons on a single occasion, coming from Sennaar, so recently, even as 1839: nay, more, that your troops were paid even so lately with the slaves taken in one of these expeditions. My informant, a German

naturalist, who was at that period in the service of your Highness, and who accompanied your troops on these expeditions, has given me the details at large, and of their fidelity there cannot be the slightest doubt, corroborated as they are by the evidence of other Europeans still in your employment.

This state of things, may it please your Highness, and the atrocious mode in which these unfortunate countries are ravaged by your Egyptian and Nubian subjects, the people of England will learn with extreme regret, and the members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society will lament to find, that one solitary act of justice to the negro race, performed by your Highness in your expedition to Fezaglou—namely, the liberation of the slaves who were brought to you at that place, and the verbal prohibition of the slave hunts issued to your officers on that occasion, so far as regarded the payment of your troops with the stolen men—has produced no beneficial effects, and has not been followed up by any other measures of *bonâ fide* efficacy, that are calculated or intended to put a stop to this abominable trade.

The members of the Convention will hear with surprise that, at Cartoon, in the vicinity of Sennaar, a French *soi-disant* consular agent, not regularly appointed, but for some years past, permitted to

retain the title and to exercise the authority he assumed, a man of infamous character—nevertheless, recently decorated with the cross of the legion of honour—of the name of Vessier, is not only deeply engaged in this odious traffic, but has for some years past been the proprietor of an establishment for the reception and "storage" of slaves, on the plan of "the breeding farms" of Virginia, kept up for the purpose of supplying the Egyptian market with slave-children of a tender age. It will be a matter of deep regret, as well as of surprise to that body, to learn that such a miscreant should be suffered to settle in a place under your authority; and that after a formal complaint preferred by the Duke of Wurtemburg, to the Consul-general of the French nation at Alexandria, detailing the enormities of this man in the prosecution of his odious trade, he should still be permitted not only to remain under French protection, but be considered a fit person to be recommended to the especial favour of his sovereign for a mark of distinction; that commonly is, or ought to be, the reward of merit. It may not have reached the ears of your Highness, that other foreigners of the same nation were associated with this person in his infamous pursuits; that a Frenchman of the name of Tirant, a physician by profession, till lately living at Car-

toon, and who recently resided at Sennaar, was embarked in the same trade, and had attempted the introduction into that place of the practice of making eunuchs, in conjunction with his friend, Monsieur Vessier, the chevalier of the legion of honour, the slave-dealer of Cartoon.

Your Highness was pleased to inform me, that the great impediment to the suppression of this trade, or the restriction of slavery itself, was the sanction which the latter received from the law and religion of the land; and, therefore, to effect any change, it would be necessary to go to Constantinople, and obtain the concurrence of the head of the religion and the law, in any measure that should be proposed for the abolition of slavery, or the trade in slaves.

The fact, I am perfectly aware, is not to be denied, that slavery, as it existed of old in the form of domestic servitude, is recognised by the law, but your Highness must be well aware that the barbarous wars which are made on the people of Africa, for the purpose of obtaining slaves; the perfidy that is practised in entrapping unwary natives; the violence that is employed in seizing on their defenceless women and children; the murders that are committed in the surprisal of their villages, and the surrounding of their habitations; the starv-

ing of their people into terms of submission, where they have resisted the marauders; the violation of their women; the capture of the young and the robust, the slaughter of the old and the infirm; the burning of their dwellings; the wasting of their lands—in short, that this savage warfare, and the atrocities that follow in its train, are nowhere prescribed or sanctioned by your law.

It would be a calumny to assert, that the religion which is founded on that law, is chargeable with the crimes that are committed by the wretches who follow this felonious trade. This trade, may it please your Highness, is at variance with every law human and divine, and the wickedness of it being unknown to the giver of your law, the system that has arisen from it, and exists only by its continuance, cannot be considered as that kind of servitude that was tolerated by him, and which had for its object the disposal of prisoners captured in wars, undertaken for an aim very different from that of the slave-hunts of Sennaar.

It cannot be denied, that it is in the power of your Highness, to prohibit the crime of stealing men on the part of your people, and the introduction of this species of plunder, into the countries over which you rule. A government without power to enforce its laws, or authority without the will to

curb the violence of lawless men, or protect the weak and the defenceless from their hands, hardly deserves to be respected, and it is hardly to be desired that it should stand.

This evil has been permitted to exist too long for the character of Egyptian civilization. Lesser evils, whose removal was surrounded with greater difficulties, have been encountered and overcome by Mohammed Ali. One of the greatest calamities that the world has experienced during the last three centuries, is that modern barbarity of subsidizing savage nations, to wage wars with one another, for the purpose of making slaves. This recent custom of ravaging defenceless nations, for an object so unjust and wicked, as that of making human beings objects of sale and barter, no law can sanction, and no prince can be excused in the sight of God and man who tolerates it, on any plea of political or pecuniary advantage.

How then, may I ask your Highness, can it be said that such a trade is lawful, carried on as it is by means of wars that are not just or necessary, and that the state of the men thus stolen and sold into bondage is so sacred that it cannot be touched, nor even remotely affected, without going to Constantinople, and first asking permission of the Mufti to effect some change?

It would be in vain to tell the people of England that the slave-trade was to be tolerated in Egypt on the ground of its legality. That plea can only be admitted for its continuance by those who are utterly ignorant of Mohammedan law. It would not be believed that a prince who has the power to triumph over the deepest rooted prejudices of his people—to carry his victorious armies into distant countries—to oppose successfully the greatest obstacles that can be thrown in the way of the accomplishment of his political designs, had not the means at his command of abolishing this trade, and putting an end to the evil practices that have grown out of it.

Amongst these, perhaps, the most barbarous of all is still tolerated, and even encouraged by your Highness—the cruel, sanguinary, and most atrocious practice of mutilating men for the purpose of enhancing their value in the market, and, to the disgrace of Egypt, this country still continues to be the only part of the Ottoman empire where it exists.

The civilization of Egypt, may it please your Highness, so long as this disgraceful crime is tolerated by your functionaries, and sanctioned by your Highness's purchase and employment of the stolen

men thus mutilated, for the especial service of your private dwelling—it will be in vain to boast of.

It will be said the only country where this barbarous custom exists is that which is under the rule of Mohammed Ali. This crime, that is attended with such peril to life, such frightful suffering, such degradation to its victims, is too disgraceful to be permitted in Stamboul; the infamy of it is unknown in Smyrna; in any other part of the dominions of the Sultan it would not be endured; it is only in Egypt that it is suffered, and only there that its profits are a source of revenue to the authorities of the place. Is Europe, indeed, to be told that the barbarous custom is not to be abolished while Mohammed Ali rules over the land? For nearly five and thirty years he has been its ruler, and he has suffered this evil to exist, and when he is told of the scandal its existence is to his government, is he to entrench the barbarity behind the protection of the law, and say, "You must go to Constantinople, because slavery has the sanction of the law?"

Is a custom like this, that slays its hundreds of human creatures every year; that degrades the miserable beings who survive its sufferings in the eyes of their fellow-men; that is sanguinary in its operation, and brutalizing in its influence on the

perpetrators of it, to be considered not only a part, but a necessary consequence of that slavery that has the sanction of the law?

If the sanction that is accorded to slavery were to extend to such a crime as this, what a weapon would be placed in the hands of those who were hostile to that law, or whose opinions were regulated by another code!

It is not, please your Highness, from the experience of others I speak of this barbarous practice and its effects. In the year 1826, I was an eye-witness of them at the village of Zanwee-el-Deir, in the district of Siout. The mortality of the unfortunate children who undergo the operation, by the admission of the wretches who live by the performance of it, was such, as could only be credited by persons who have visited the place, and heard the detail of its horrors from the murderous operators themselves.

In the course of fourteen years, I find that matters have undergone no change in this place. One of the most devoted of the servants of your Highness, Clot Bey, in his recent work on Egypt states, that the practice continues as heretofore; that not much above one-fourth part of the children who undergo this operation survive it; and that the number of

eunuchs that are made every year is about 300. Some opinion may then be formed of the waste of life that takes place, of the hundreds it is necessary to kill to have the number that is here given of the survivors of it.

There may be some exaggeration in the account of the mortality given by Clot Bey, but it is still great enough to justify the use of the term "murderous," in speaking of this operation. The number of eunuchs made at this place is, however, under-rated by him; in the last year, the number amounted to four hundred. It is to be borne in mind that the persons on whom this cruelty is practised, are children from the age of six to twelve, and the price for which they are sold, varies from one hundred to two hundred dollars.

The operation is performed under circumstances most unfavourable to the safety of those who undergo it. It is performed by ignorant, brutal, and unfeeling men. It is one of a more serious nature than it is generally understood to be. The barbarous application of heated oil is the medication employed to prevent immediate death from hœmorrhage; and the after treatment, the cruel practice of throwing the unfortunate child on his face in the hot sand, and piling it up about his loins, and then

keeping him immoveably fixed in that position for thirty or forty hours, undergoing torments that cannot be described.

These things, may it please your Highness, are done in Egypt!

They are done by Egyptians!

They are done on poor children!

And you are the ruler of the land!

What civilization has reached that land where such savage crimes are committed with impunity? —where they are encouraged by the highest officers of the state, who are compelled by their station to follow the example of your Highness, and to surround their doors with a retinue of mutilated men?

In conclusion, may it please your Highness, I would beg leave to recal the facts to which I have endeavoured to direct your attention.

1. At the expiration of nearly fifteen years, I have visited Egypt for the second time, and I find slavery, and the trade in slaves, unchanged in their character, and unrestrained by any measure of your Highness adopted for their suppression.

2. I find the slave-markets glutted with negro women and children as heretofore.

3. I find the exportation of slaves from Alexandria for Turkey, on board European vessels, carried on openly at the present time.

4. I find the prices of slaves actually lowered by the increase of the numbers brought down to Alexandria and Cairo, and those slaves, children and women, selling from 600 piastres to 1,500 a head, or from six pounds sterling to fifteen pounds each.

5. I find the slave-hunts are carried on by your people, and even by your soldiers, as usual, and the only prohibition that has been issued is one given in the presence of certain European Consuls at Fezaglou, that never has been carried into effect.

6. I find the same evils arising from this nefarious trade, and the same barbarous monoply in mutilated beings permitted as heretofore, and even encouraged by your authorities in Upper Egypt.

In the mean time, the spirit of reform is said to be moving over the land; we are told the enlightened views of your Highness are directed to the removal of all abuses. Those in the administration of the property of the mosques, which for ages had been protected even by the law itself, were got rid of by your Highness, without the trouble and inconvenience of going to Constantinople, and the sanction of the law itself was set aside to enable your Highness to turn these funds to an account more useful to the state.

But when the grand abuse of all is approached,

and the outrages are pointed out that are committed on humanity, by the subjects of your Highness—when the barbarous traffic in the flesh and blood of human beings like ourselves is brought before you—when the question is not one of rents and revenue, of beans and cotton, but one of flesh and blood, of life and liberty, of duty and of justice; the advocate of the negro must be sent to Constantinople, to confer with the Mufti about the propriety of any change, because the veneration of your Highness for the law is such, as to extend even to the shadow of it, under which, slavery so tranquilly reposes in those countries that are subject to you.

Your Highness did not deem it necessary, when you recently established the national guard at Cairo, to send to the Mufti at Stamboul, (the head of the religion) to consult him on the investiture of the Sheikel Islem of El Masr (or the chief of the law at Cairo) with the military rank and dignity of a general, and yet the law and the religion had made this man their minister, and the exigency of the times made this minister your soldier. Here the law and the custom of ages were opposed to the change, but the wants of the state and the will of Mohammed Ali required that it should be made.

The same will I would fain see exerted in effect-

ing another change, and one that would give the death-blow in Egypt to the crime of stealing men, and retaining these stolen men in slavery. I cannot allow myself to believe this will is wanting on the part of your Highness. Other matters, unfortunately considered of greater moment and more immediate political importance, have turned away the attention of your Highness from this subject, and afforded you but a single opportunity of manifesting a desire to repress the enormities of this traffic on the part of your military commanders at Fezaglou.

That lesson has been lost for want of repetition. It is not a sudden impulse of generosity, or a single effort of benevolence, that is sufficient to encounter and overcome an evil of such magnitude as that of slavery in any of its forms, but a series of energetic measures, wisely devised and resolutely directed to the abolition of it.

It is idle to pretend that because slaves are not purchased in Egypt for the purpose of employment in prædial labour, and because they are treated with a degree of humanity little known in Christian countries where slavery prevails, the suppression of the slave-trade is not to be desired.

At my recent interview with your Highness, in speaking on this subject, you observed that the

negroes were in a wretched and distracted state in their own country; that they were perpetually at war with one another, but that in Egypt they were well fed and kindly treated, and were far better off than in their own country; and yet they died by hundreds in the barracks, without any assignable cause after all.

Your Highness adduced this fact as a proof of the great difficulty of civilizing the negroes; that after taking them from a state of savage warfare and making soldiers of them in Egypt (therefore civilizing them), they pined away, and they died by hundreds. The civilization, may it please your Highness, that is estimated by the advantage of converting an untutored savage into an Egyptian soldier, I do not understand.

As to the negroes being better fed and more humanely treated than in other countries, the injury that was done to them in tearing them from their country, surely must have been very great when so many hundreds of them perished, as you state, without any apparent cause.

The cause of this mortality, may it please your Highness, is very intelligible to persons who are well acquainted with the miseries which this traffic is productive of; to those who have some practical knowledge of the sufferings of the negro newly

fallen into slavery—of the silent stupor—of the anguish which comes over his mind—of the ties of nature that are broken by his capture—of the throbbings of the heart for house and home, of the poor wretch who has been torn from the country (however barbarous it may be) which gave him birth—of the wearing down of his strength and spirits the farther he goes, and the more strongly that he feels, "he drags at each remove a lengthening chain."

To assign a cause for this mortality, it is necessary, may it please your Highness, to have seen how soon the strongest man sinks under the sense of slavery; how speedily his energies of mind and body are weighed down by it, and how sullenly and silently he pines away in that sickness of the heart which has no hope except in death.

No matter, however bland and lenient that slavery may be which separates a man from kith and kin—from the place where those nearest and dearest to him lived and died—where the "sheiks" and the chiefs of his tribes are buried, and (your Highness can well appreciate the force of that local attachment, amounting almost to a religious veneration for the spot) where, perhaps the bones of his father and mother are likewise laid—you cannot compensate this man for the wrongs he has suffered, except

by the restoration of that liberty of which he has been robbed.

But it matters very little, may it please your Highness, to the people of Africa, whose country is ravaged, how the captives are treated who are carried away by the Egyptian "Gellabs." Whatever the treatment may be in Egypt, the savagery of the wars in Africa is all the same. The natives are hunted like wild beasts; their fields are wasted; their villages are destroyed; and the defenceless people continually exposed to the marauding attacks of the subjects of your Highness.

But previously to the sale of the slaves in Cairo and Alexandria, nothing that takes place on board the slave-ships of other countries, or in the route of the slave "coffle," in their march across the desert to the coast, can exceed the barbarity with which the Gellabs, or slave-traders of Nubia and Egypt, treat the unfortunate captives which they carry from the great emporiums of slavery, Dongola, Darfour, Cartoon, Camomel, and Cordofan.

In their route to Egypt, the wretched slaves are huddled together in small boats on the Nile, in the same way that the wretched negroes are crowded in one dense mass of human beings, jaded and sent

down on board the Spanish slave-ships.* It would be idle to expatiate on the sufferings of these creatures during this voyage, or on the hardships they endured in the previous journey over land.

Suffice it to say, on the authority of persons who have very recently even accompanied your soldiers in the slave-hunting expeditions from Sennaar, and have returned disgusted from them, that nothing can exceed the barbarity of the usage which the captured negroes experience at the hands of the "Gellabs."

But still with a confident hope in the justice and generosity of your Highness, I look forward to the success of this application to your Highness, and I most earnestly desire, that the sufferings it details, may reach your heart. And in the name of humanity itself, I appeal to it on behalf of the poor natives of Africa, whose country your people have hitherto desolated and robbed of its inhabitants, not only with impunity, but even with the sanction of your Highness's officers in these distant provinces.

For the grievous wrongs they have inflicted on

* In the month of December last, three boats of the above description on the Nile, laden with slaves, were seen by Mr. Weir, an English traveller. This gentleman, on whose authority the fullest reliance may be placed, estimates the number on board of each, at one hundred and fifty.

the people, the promptest reparation is due to Africa, and permit me to add, the debt is one which, in justice to yourself, your Highness cannot leave unpaid. When the good work which was commenced at Fezaglou, by the liberation of the slaves that were brought before you, shall be accomplished, as I pray it will be by the immediate emancipation of every captive that is brought into your country, the blessings of the poor strangers who have been so cruelly oppressed, and are at length destined to be delivered by you from their sufferings, will then plead for a benefactor who, in the discharge of the high duties committed to him, had endeavoured to do that which was "just and equal to all men."

THE EGYPTIAN SLAVE-HUNTS IN AFRICA,

By IGNATIUS PALLME,

A GERMAN NATURALIST;

LATELY IN THE PACHA'S SERVICE IN CORDOFAN, SENNAAR, AND THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES.

The following paper, I received from the writer of it last August, in Egypt. I am indebted for the valuable acquaintance of Mr. Pallme, and for this most highly interesting paper to my friend Mr. Gliddon, the American Consul, at Cairo, who introduced me to this Nubian traveller. Mr. Pallme is a German naturalist, who, for the sake of carrying on his researches in the upper country, accompanied the Pacha's army into Cordofan, and on that predatory expedition into Africa for the purpose of stealing men to recruit his armies in the year 1838.

After a good deal of persuasion, I induced this gentleman to give me a written account of the mode and manner of making these slave wars, and of the extent of them. He kindly complied with my desire, and a literal translation of this narrative from the German language, in which I received it, is here given.

I have only to observe, that the writer of it is a steady, sober minded man, and worthy of credit; he is still residing in Egypt, in the prosecution of his scientific pursuits.

Cairo, August, 1840.

REVERED DOCTOR,

AGREEABLY to your request, I have the honour to send you a copy of the paper containing a description of the slave-hunts, carried on by Mohammed Ali. It would be one of the best memorials of my travels, if my observations should contribute something towards alleviating the suffering of the cruelly treated negroes, as the sufferings which these poor creatures have to endure, and of which, I was eye-witness, have made an indelible impression on my heart. I intend to publish all the observations I made during my residence at Cordofan; and, therefore, I would ask you to have the enclosed extracts printed with my name, that no one may reproach me at a future time, with having copied other works, I would also ask you to send me a copy of the accompanying account of the slave-hunts, when printed.

If you should know any person who would purchase my work on Cordofan, and the neighbouring countries. I should feel greatly obliged, and would merely add, that it will consist of about 300 pages.

Allow me to assure you of my esteem, and subscribe myself,

Your most obedient servant,

IGNATIUS PALLME.

TO DR. MADDEN.

LETTER XV.

Number of troops in the expedition—Mode of provisioning—Commencement of operations—First capture of the natives—Depopulation—Deserted habitations—Resolute defence—Capture—Horrible scenes—Egyptian encampment—Preparations for another attack—Conduct of the natives—Flight of the troops—Death of a chief—The Beduini—Tactics of the negroes—Operations renewed—Retreat of the army—Noble daring of the mountaineers in defence of their liberty—Nubians—Siege—Sufferings and deaths by famine—Surrender—Escape of prisoners—New attack—Horrible slaughter—Dreadful sufferings on the march to Cordofan—Intense cold—Humane officers—Barbarities inflicted—Indignation felt—Pay of the soldiers—Queen Victoria.

Towards the end of the year 1838, the Viceroy ordered the province of Cordofan to procure 5000 slaves. At the end of the month of November of that year, the ordered corps consisting of 2400 foot, 750 Mograbini, 200 irregular horse, 300 riders on dromedaries, and 1200 country people, armed with shields and lances, with three cannon, commenced their march. As it was impossible to procure the

whole number of camels in the short period that remained before their march, many being required to carry water, tents, &c., two of the infantry received but one camel between them. Provision and cattle, as well as the necessary provender for the horses, were provided only for a few days, expecting afterwards to obtain what was necessary by robbery and plunder.

A mountain which had suffered materially in former years from the troops of Mohammed Ali, as well as from the rapacious Bakkara, and was almost dispeopled, being one of the first in the territories of free Nubia, was first commanded to surrender. The Sheik readily descended into the camp and surrendered himself with all his subjects, consisting of 196 souls; he himself was set free and presented with a dress; but the Sheba was fastened round the necks of the young men; and on the following day all the prisoners were transported to Lobeid. The Sheik himself told me that about eighteen years ago, when the Turks went there for the first time, the population of his mountain amounted to more than 3000 souls; but on account of the annual tribute of slaves, which was always tenfold increased by the dissatisfied Turks, the number had been reduced to 196. These prisoners were treated humanely, and no suicide took place amongst them.

They saw the impossibility of offering resistance, and became reconciled to their hard lot. Having found only a small store of provisions with the poor people of Dohna the bread of the troops soon failed, and they were obliged to advance. An attack was made upon the next mountain, but the soldiers were sadly disappointed in their expectations, when they found all empty. The inhabitants had been apprised of the arrival of the expedition, and had fled with all their goods and cattle; nothing but their empty huts remained, to which the soldiers in their anger set fire, and entirely destroyed everything they discovered.

They then proceeded to the third mountain. The inhabitants firmly resolved to defend their liberty at any price, and were willing rather to suffer death than deliver themselves into the hands of the Turks; they put forth all their strength, in order to make a desperate resistance. The village was stormed, but the negroes repulsed their enemy several times; after repeated attacks, however, it was at last taken; and then a horrible scene presented itself to the view of the spectator. Out of the 500 souls that inhabited the village, only 188 were found alive. All the huts were filled with the corpses of young and old, many of those who had not perished in the battle with their arms in their

hands, killed themselves in order to escape slavery. The prisoners were all led away, the place ransacked, and the corpses left unburied, which presented a fearful scene of desolation upon the return of the few who had been fortunate enough to save themselves by flight.

In order to afford the troops some rest, an encampment was made, and a part of the troops sent out to procure some provisions. Such a camp, which is usually pitched in a plain, consists of an irregular square, which is fenced in with thorn hedges, bushes, and sometimes with stones, and in which the regular infantry and the cannon are placed, while the cavalry and the bearers of lances are stationed on the outside. They never place sentinels, or adopt other means of caution; but confine themselves to a mere defence against a *coup de main*. The negroes frequently make a sally by night, which may prove destructive to the troops on account of their great carelessness. They generally, however, only encamp for a short time; and this was the case in the present instance, for as soon as the soldiers had refreshed themselves a little and procured some provisions, the tents were broken up, and the march continued to the mountain fixed upon for the next attack.

The cavalry had been sent half an hour sooner,

in order to surround the mountain; but when they approached it, they were suddenly attacked by the mountaineers who were informed of the arrival of the Turks. The negroes, strong in number, and only armed with shields and lances rushed out of their ambush with violence, uttering terrible cries, in which they were assisted by the women who accompanied their husbands, and threw themselves upon the enemy. The cavalry were immediately thrown into consternation, and unwilling to await the attack, turned and fled. One of the leaders of the Beduini, who was riding on a spirited horse, that would not immediately follow the others, was suddenly surrounded, he took his gun in order to fire at the first assailant; this, however, missed fire, and before he could make use of his sword or pistols, or prepare himself in any way for his defence, he was pulled from his horse and immediately killed. None of his people made the least attempt to assist their leader, each one thought only of his own safety.

The flight, however, must not be ascribed to want of courage in the Beduini, nearly all of them are good warriors and fight valiantly, unless, as it was the case here, their own interests are in danger. Partly by subtilty, and partly by extraordinary promises, which, however, are never fulfilled, these

nomades are allured out of their homely deserts, and employed for capturing of slaves. But he has nothing to expect beside a trifling payment, except what he obtains by robbery and plunder; and if it should occur, that he loses his horse, which is his own property, (either accidentally or in battle,) he must not expect to receive indemnification from government.

If he has no means of his own to purchase another horse, government gives him one, but the price of it is deducted from his small salary; and, consequently, he must serve gratuitously for several years. Their Sheik, or first leader, has told me this himself, and assured me, that his Beduini, who are falsely called Mograbini, would act very imprudently, if they were to expose their horses to a danger where nothing important could be obtained; for the negroes when fighting with the cavalry, endeavour to injure the horse sooner than its rider, as the latter, after the loss of his horse, is sure to fall a prey.

While the cavalry rallied behind the infantry, the commander ordered them to make an attack on the next day. If it had succeeded, the slaughter would have been terrible, for all intended to revenge the fallen leader of the Beduini. It was, however, differently ordained by the God of providence.

As soon as the day began to dawn, the infantry prepared for the attack, and the cavalry were kept in reserve. But no enemy was visible, and it was supposed that the negroes had retired into their village, which was situated near a very steep precipice, and wanted to defend themselves there. They advanced with the greatest caution, a few cannon shots directed against the village were useless, all remained quiet. Suddenly, however, when the avant-guard had reached the foot of the mountain, and were about to storm the place, the negroes rushed forth from all directions, and endeavoured to surround the assailants. The situation of the latter became very critical, for their attention having been exclusively fixed on the mountain which they were ordered to attack; they had entirely overlooked that two other mountains were situated on the sides of the former, and inhabited by an equal number of negroes, who had waited with their neighbours, and rushed down with all their might upon the infantry, none of whom would have escaped, had not the commander of the Egyptian troops perceived the imminent danger in time, and immediately ordered a retreat; when all fled out of the valley in the greatest confusion, for surrounded by a narrow valley, with scarcely sufficient room to move, and no assistance to be expected from the

cavalry, all would have been lost. As the negroes came down the mountain like black clouds, no one could have resisted their attack, for with an indescribable fury, they rush to the battle, heedless of pistols, guns, or bayonets; they use their lances skilfully, and joyfully die, fighting for their liberty. The cavalry did not remain, and the troops only stopt when they found themselves beyond the reach of their enemies. No one thought of commencing the battle again, for if once defeated, nothing in the world can induce these heroes to make another attack. They are likewise aware, that the negroes, after being in possession of an advantage, however small, become almost invincible, especially as the guns with bayonets are of little use against the arms of the blacks; , for, as I observed before, these wild mountaineers are reckless of danger and devoid of fear, but blinded with fury and despising death, they rush into the battle. I myself experienced an instance of the intrepidity of these men. My servant one day came in contact with one of the negroes, and when I perceived that the former was in danger, I hastened to his assistance and pointed my gun at his breast, designing to frighten rather than do him any harm, yet he remained as immoveable as a wall, and heedless of the threatening danger, he kept his eye fixed on his opponent, and

threw his lance at him; but, fortunately, he missed his aim, and it was only by kindness that he could be pacified.

When the troops had again rallied, and all was set in order, they proceeded on their expedition; and, in a few days they succeeded in taking several other mountains, and the prisoners were sent to Lobeid. They then directed their course to the south of the Nubia mountains, which is inhabited by another tribe. These people differ from the inhabitants of Nubia, in language and stature, and are not so fine as the latter. They are immediately recognized by the many brass ear-rings, which they do not wear in the lower but in the upper part of the ear, which is drawn down and nearly covers the lower part. Most men have the tooth of some animal, about 1½ or 2 inches long, which they wear above the chin; they put it through a hole in their skin when young, which, consequently, grows fast to it. In their manner of living, they differ but very little from the tribes of Nubia. It is, however, remarkable, that when eating, they do not like other negroes, or Turks, or Arabs, take up their food with their fingers, but make use of a shell or a piece of wood in the shape of a spoon.

The village of this tribe, situated on a very dangerous part of the mountain, was difficult to be

taken by storm, and the commander, in order not to suffer loss, resolved to blockade it, and to force the negroes to surrender from want of water. The siege lasted eight days, and as it was afterwards ascertained, these poor creatures who did not feel themselves strong enough to defend themselves, had not a drop of water on the fourth day. The cattle were killed on the first day, in order not to diminish the supply of water; on the sixth day, several children and old people perished through thirst; and on the seventh day, the mortality was so general, that they resolved to surrender. Some advised to make a sally, but others, feeling exhausted, thought it would be of no use; and when on the eighth day the torments of thirst destroyed hundreds, and many in despair cut open their bellies with their two-edged knives, and thus destroyed themselves, the remainder surrendered to the enemy.

Of more than 2000 people only 1049 were alive, some had died of thirst, and some had destroyed themselves.

When the Turks entered the village, they found the huts filled with corpses, several were indeed alive, but so exhausted, that they could scarcely keep themselves erect. But with knocks from the butt-end of the guns, and flogging, these poor creatures were driven out of their huts, and suffering all

kinds of ill-treatment, were dragged into the camp, and from thence, sent to Lobeid, but more than 150 died on their way there. On the fourth day of the departure of this transportation of slaves; when the caravan halted, and the prisoners as usual lay down in small divisions; an old woman, on account of her former suffering, and from her long march entirely exhausted, could not reach the appointed place with sufficient readiness, an unfeeling soldier, gave her a blow with the butt-end of his gun, that she sank to the ground almost lifeless. Her son, who witnessed this ill-treatment, and not being able to master his feelings, flew with great fury at the soldier and gave him such a blow with the sheba fastened to his neck, that he likewise sank to the ground. This served as an appointed signal; all the slaves wearing a sheba, fell on the soldiers, and knocked several of them down, so, that before they could seize their guns, and fix their bayonets at the end, fifty-six negroes, favoured by the darkness of the night, and the confusion in the camp, had fled, and safely escaped; while the country people, into whose care they had been committed, remained quiet spectators, a proof of the interest they take in such captures.

The main troops had in the meantime continued their march, and taken a mountain by storm, but

not without loss. The village situated near a steep precipice, could only be attacked on one side, and having a good supply of water, it would have been useless to blockade it. That being the case, they attempted to storm it. With unprecedented fury they fought on both sides, the assailants had to pay dearly with their blood for every step they advanced. The negroes blocked up all the passes, made use of every stone, of every tree, and every elevation behind which they could hide, and rushed on the enemy, so that they could only reach the summit with great difficulty. It was impossible for the soldiers to make use of their guns; for creeping like ants on hands and feet, they were unable to take their arms in their hands, and consequently, many of them were pierced with the lances of the negroes, before they could stand erect, and in their fall they dragged others with them. Firing the cannon was quite useless, and could not be continued for fear of injuring their own troops. The battle was fearful, and remained for a long time undecided; but the soldiers at last succeeded in obtaining a firm footing on the summit of the mountain, and were enabled to make an attack with their bayonets. That decided the conflict; and in spite of the most desperate resistance of the negroes, the village was at last taken. The blood-

shed which ensued was horrible. All who defended themselves were killed without mercy; children, women, and old men, were stabbed with bayonets, the huts were burned down, and everything ransacked; in short, these unhappy creatures were treated with the most ferocious cruelty. All that fell alive into the hands of the conquerors, were immediately dragged down into the camp; those who endeavoured to hide themselves in caves or cliffs, were driven out again, or suffocated by means of fire and smoke. All imaginable cruelties were practised, and not discontinued, till every one of these unfortunate people was either killed, or led away into slavery. All that remained of their poor possessions, and that could not be carried away, was destroyed, and at last the whole village was razed to the ground.

But the sufferings of these poor people did not end here; they had to suffer greater torments on their way to Cordofan. I was, alas, my myself, eye-witness of the misery of the prisoners. No pen can describe what cruelties these poor creatures, who were already cast down on account of the loss of their goods, and especially the loss of their liberty, had to suffer on their way. Partly with the heavy sheba round their necks, or tied together two and two, with strong leather strings, or their hands fastened with clasps; these poor negroes

were driven along like cattle, and treated with far less indulgence, and much more severity. Most of them covered with wounds which they had received in the battle, or from the friction of the sheba, the leather strings, or the clasps, had to suffer the most excruciating pains, and if they became too exhausted to keep pace with the others, still greater sufferings awaited them.

The cries and lamentations of these unfortunate persons, as well as the weeping and crying of the children, who either had lost their parents when the village was taken by storm, or were too much fatigued to follow their mothers who were still more so; who suffered with hunger and thirst, and did not receive a morsel of bread to satisfy their hunger, nor a drop of water to quench their thirst, from the hard-hearted Turks. All this could move a heart of stone, but it made no impression on these unfeeling capturers. They walked indifferently by the side of their prisoners, and only stimulated them to advance, by blows and strokes. As all who were found alive were carried off; there was a great number blind, lame, old, or otherwise feeble people, respecting whom they knew beforehand, that they would either perish on the way or fetch no price.

But this was not regarded, all were unmercifully taken from their homely hearth and left to their

fate, their only care was to procure the requisite number of slaves demanded by government.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon they halted, the slaves were arranged into different divisions after their ages, and received their food, which consisted of boiled maize (dohna,) no salt is given, and the maize is boiled so hard, that it is scarcely possible for adults to chew it; the children whose teeth are too tender to chew this kind of corn, swallow it like pills, and afterwards perish most miserably, as they cannot digest what they have swallowed, which makes their bellies swell. I frequently saw that mothers chewed it for their children.

When the division of the prisoners was made in the camp according to their ages, no allowance was made for the children, who anxiously embraced their parents, the sick and the wounded; the former were violently torn from the arms of their parents, in order that they might accustom themselves to eat alone; and the sick received the same food as the healthy; several of them preferred to throw themselves crying into the sand, and endeavoured to refresh their weak limbs, refusing to take any food. If any one became so exhausted, that they saw no possibility of driving him any further, or if he was already dying, they would throw him aside like a piece of wood, and let

him either perish from exhaustion or be torn by wild beasts. Bread is not even heard of, although there is a possibility of baking some on their march; this, however, would in their opinion, be superfluous for the poor slaves, and they must content themselves with food which is too bad for cattle. As soon as the signal of decampment was given, every one was obliged to hasten to his detachment, whoever came only one minute too late, was beaten with whips and the butt ends of the guns. Old men and women, who, bent with old age, could scarcely creep along, suffered the same ill-treatment, and were left behind in the sand, if they were not able to advance; and the children were not allowed to take leave of their dear relatives; with tears in their eyes, they could only look at them, and leave them to their fate. In order not to see the father left behind in so miserable a situation, wives and daughters took him between them and helped him on, while he had his arms round their necks, and he was sometimes carried by them.

Children from six years, and even from four years of age, were obliged to run. But they could seldom bear the fatiguing march, and were obliged to be carried by their mothers and sisters. I even saw mothers with a sucking babe in one arm,

a child of two years of age in the other, and at last an exhausted boy on their backs, sink under this threefold burden.

Officers who are charged with such a transportation, are the chief cause why the soldiers treat the poor slaves so cruelly—either riding at some distance before the caravan, or behind it, they care nothing about the condition of the captives, and leave them entirely in the hands of the soldiers; and it is soon perceived when a humane officer conducts the caravan, for then only few perish. I saw one of them particularly attending to the children and the sick, and as soon as he perceived that one of them lost his strength, and could not go on with the rest, he ordered that he should be put on one of the beasts of burden: he even took one or two on his own horse.

Such an officer can lie down on his couch with a good conscience, and has not to reproach himself with having increased the misery of his fellow-men, which is already sufficiently great; while so many of his comrades have the miserable death of hundreds on their conscience.

An hour before sunset, they halted again, and distributed boiled corn (dohna) among the slaves. But during the night, the misery of the slaves reached its highest pitch. In the month of January,

in which the change of the temperature is generally keenly felt, as the thermometer frequently falls to eight degrees, the cold was so intense, that it might be compared with the cold of Northern Germany, when four to five degrees below the freezing point. Let the reader remember that the poor negroes are naked, without any covering, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, and he can judge what these poor people had to suffer; fires were, indeed, kindled; but as there was a deficiency of wood, they were not sufficient to protect against the cold. The wailing and moaning of the children, sick, wounded, and dying, were therefore terrible; and one morning they found a sucking child frozen to death, still on the breast of its mother. The negroes have, indeed, no covering when in their villages, but are quite naked, with the exception of a cotton girdle round their loins; but during the night they lie in their huts and cover themselves with skins, all of which they were deprived of on their march.

Those who wore the sheba, round their necks could not sleep on account of pain, their necks were so pressed together, that they could not move them, and thus not one was free from suffering. A woman near her confinement was delivered, one night, without any assistance, The new-born babe was wrapped up in a shirt which I had given to the

mother, and safely brought to Lobeid. I gave my donkey to the mother to ride on.

It is, indeed, impossible for me to describe all the misery which I witnessed during the time I remained with them. Language fails; the sufferings which the slaves have to undergo is beyond conception, and no words can describe the pain which a sensitive heart feels when witnessing such scenes. I did all in my power, partly by kind words, and partly by small presents, to make the soldiers as well as the country people who had to escort the slaves more compassionate; the consequence was, that many of them would take a poor child that could not move his wounded feet any longer in the sand, or that was a burden to his exhausted mother, on his arms and carry it nearly the whole of the way. But it was impossible for me to put a stop to all the acts of cruelty, and I was obliged, one day to see an unfeeling soldier knock down with the butt end of his gun, a poor man whose feet were quite inflamed on account of the wounds which he had received in battle, and whom pain prevented from keeping step with the others.

I was no longer master of my feelings; I drew my sword, and would have hewn this tiger into pieces if my servant had not stopt me, by wrenching the sword out of my hand, he likewise took my

pistols from me, and did not return either, until he saw that my anger had cooled.

On the eighth day the whole expedition arrived at Lobeid, where the distribution of the slaves took place, and this is the chief reason that the soldiers treat the slaves so unmercifully; for as they are obliged to take these instead of the arrear pay, and that at a very high price, and as the slaves frequently die before they have sold them again, and the soldiers consequently lose all, they try all they can to let the old and feeble perish before they reach Lobeid. If the troops in Cordofan, and in other provinces, received their pay in ready money, I feel convinced that they would treat these unfortunate people with more humanity.

But thanks be to the kind care of the magnanimous Queen Victoria, who had cast her compassionate regards upon those distant regions, and upon their poor inhabitants, and through whose interposition thousands and thousands of poor negroes, who, from year to year, were threatened with a similar fate, will now be able to spend their lives in quietude and peace, and the prayers of these henceforth happy people must, and will, draw down blessings.

LETTER XVI.

Kind treatment of slaves by the Turks no equivalent for the loss of liberty—Periodical slave-hunts—Mohammed Ali not aware of the cruelties inflicted—Numbers carried into captivity from Nubia—Preparations for an expedition—Demand for camels—Training—Numbers of troops—Appearance and mode of attack by the Beduini—Providing for the expedition—Demand for slaves as tribute—Heart-rending scenes—Splendid examples of noble daring—Preparations for defence—Attacks—Revenge—Death preferred to slavery—Plunder of the villages—Want of water—Deceit of Kurshid Pacha towards the Shelukians—Mode of treating those who surrender—The Gelabs—Description of the sheba—The wooden clasp—Transporting the slaves—Mortality among them—Disposal of the slaves among the troops—Source of revenue pointed out—And mode of increasing the army.

Several travellers who have visited the Orient, and especially Egypt, mention, and that justly, the humane treatment of the slaves; but few, perhaps, have heard of the inhuman manner in which these poor people are brought under the horrible yoke of slavery. The comparatively kind manner in which the Turks in the above-mentioned countries treat their slaves, is but a very insignificant indemnification for the loss of their liberty, but, alas, very few of these unfortunate beings enjoy even this indem-

nification, as more than half the number of them perish before they reach the place of their destination, on account of the ill usage of the rude barbarians.

The Viceroy of Egypt sends out once or twice every year, a capturing expedition to the mountains of Nubia and the adjacent regions, in order to seize upon a certain number of these unfortunate creatures either by subtility or force; and some of these are given to his troops at Cordofan instead of money, and the others are to increase his public revenues.

In what way this procedure may be justified, I leave my readers to judge, and refrain from making any further remark, especially as the only object of this sketch is to give a faithful description of the captures which are carried on by Mohammed Ali.

It has indeed been stated in several European papers, that these captures had been discontinued by the command of the Viceroy, when he was present at Sennaar; I can, however, state positively, that although orders were given to that effect, these seizures continue to be carried on, the same as before.

No pen can describe the cruelty practised on the occasion; and I am convinced, that if Mohammed Ali knew all the particulars respecting it, he would not consult his own interest, but order his officers to

be severely punished for their inhuman conduct so revolting to the feelings; but the distance of these unhappy provinces is by far too great for the lamentable cry of those miserable beings to reach his ears; and those whose duty it is to give the necessary information, are too much interested in the continuance of these cruelties.

The unfortunate inhabitants of the mountains of Nubia, generally fall victims to this fearful lot. In the year 1825, the number of those who were led into slavery was calculated to be 40,000, and from that time to the present year, (1839), their number amounts to at least 100,000, omitting the thousands who were captured by the Bakkara, a people who change their dwelling places continually, and sold by them to the Gelabi, merchants, who are also slave-traders.

As soon as the rainy season is over, this capturing excursion, called Gasna, commences, and the necessary number of camels is demanded; the extent of this demand may easily be imagined, if we consider that every soldier requires a camel, and that besides those used by the soldiers, double the number is required for the conveyance of arms, munition, tents, and other necessaries. All this, however, causes little embarrassment to the commander, for as everything in Egyptian countries is

considered the property of government, it occasions but little difficulty to raise the necessary means.

The soldiers seize all that comes in their way, and in a few days, all that is necessary is obtained. Provision is not the object of their solicitude, as the harvest closes at the end of the rainy season, and the soldiers from many years' experience, know where to look for the stores procured by the hard labour of the poor negroes, and hid by them from the rapacity of these tyrants.

The province of Darhammer suffers most from being obliged to procure the requisite number of camels; but as most of them are young and not used to carry burdens, they require training, and for this purpose, every soldier receives his camel ten or fourteen days before the excursion; and during that time, they march out twice every day, once early in the morning, and once in the afternoon. It affords an imposing sight to see so many hundred camels together in an extensive plain, and to look at these dull animals while they are being trained. A camel which is not trained, becomes angry when it has to kneel down, and utters a horrible cry; but let the reader imagine to have before him a considerable number of untrained camels which are frequently pulled down to the ground by means of cords, and that exhibit on the occasion the greatest anger, and utter a terrible cry, and he will then

have a small representation of the parade. It frequently occurs, that an unskilful rider when mounting, that is, when the camel rises, is thrown down and hurt. But here it may be seen, that animals must unconditionally yield to the will of man; for, in a few days, these clumsy, and at first obstinate creatures, are seen to obey their riders at the smallest signal.

The capturing expedition consists of 1000 to 2000 regular foot soldiers; 400 to 800 Mograbini (Beduini on horseback) armed with guns and pistols; 300 to 500 of the militia on dromedaries with shields and spears; and 1000 or more on foot with bucklers and small lances. Of the latter, every irregular foot soldier has from four to six in a small leather bag, which is tied to a cord and carried on his back. The riders on the dromedaries present a peculiarly imposing spectacle; they are naked with the exception of a small piece of cotton, which is wrapt round their loins, and manifest an agility, which appears almost incredible. They also exercise, a certain time before they proceed on their expedition. The cries which they utter when attacking (which they always do in bodies, and at the full speed of the dromedaries); the whizzing of the lances in the air; their long floating hair which reaches to their necks, this, together with the large shields which cover nearly the whole of their bodies, gives

the riders a frightful appearance, and is enough to intimidate the most stout hearted person. I was frequently present at their exercises, and I can assure the reader, that it was not possible for me till after some time to bear the sight without a secret feeling of horror, although I lived among them and had not to fear the least harm; but these people are at such moments almost frantic, and it is difficult to recognize even the person with whom you are best acquainted, as they disfigure their countenances so much by distortions.

As soon as everything is ready, the march begins. They usually take from two to four field pieces, and only sufficient bread for the first eight days. Oxen, sheep, and other cattle, are generally taken by force before, at Cordofan, although the tax upon cattle may have been paid. When they meet with a flock, either feeding or at the watering places, they steal the cattle, and do not care whether it belongs to one or more persons; they make no reparation for necessary things, whoever may be the sufferer, and no objection or complaint is listened to, as the governor himself is present.

As soon as they arrive at the first mountains of Nubia, the inhabitants are asked to give the appointed number of slaves as their customary tribute. This is usually done with readiness; for

these people live so near Cordofan, and are well aware that by an obstinate refusal they expose themselves to far greater sufferings. If the slaves are given without resistance, the inhabitants of that mountain are preserved from the horrors of an open attack; but as the food of the soldiers begins to fail about that time, the poor are obliged to procure the necessary provision as well as the specified number of slaves, and the Turks do not consider whether the harvest has been good or bad. All that is not freely given, the soldiers take by force. Like so many blood hounds, they know how to discover the hidden stores, and frequently leave these unfortunate people scarcely a loaf for the next day. They then proceed on to the more distant mountains, here they consider themselves to be in the land of an enemy; they encamp near the mountain which they intend to take by storm the following day, or immediately, if it is practicable. But before the attack commences, they endeavour to settle the affair amicably; a messenger is sent to the Sheik, in order to invite him to come to the camp, and to bring with him the requisite number of slaves. If the chief agrees with his subjects to the proposal, in order to prevent all further bloodshed, or if he finds his means inadequate to attempt resistance, he readily gives the appointed number of slaves. The

Sheik then proceeds to procure the number he has promised, and this is not difficult, for many volunteers offer themselves for their brethren, and are ready to subject themselves to all the horrors of slavery, in order to free those they love.

Here the most heart-rending scenes may be witnessed: for who is willing to separate himself from his home, from his parents, brothers and sisters, and relations?—who likes to forsake the cottage that has sheltered him from his infancy, and where he has spent so many happy hours in the society of those by whom he is beloved?—who likes to go forth to meet a horrible futurity, which promises nothing but misery, cruelty, and what is perhaps most desirable, death?—and yet they feel the necessity, that one of them should suffer in order to exempt the rest; the father may frequently be seen disputing with his son, the brother with his brother, as to which of them is to deliver himself freely into slavery, for every one wishes to save his affectionate and endeared relative.

The anticipation of falling into the hands of the unfeeling Turks, where nothing but misery and torments await them, to which they must submit; the prospect of being obliged to forsake all that is dear to them, and that for ever, overpowers them. They bedew the cheeks of those they love with

their tears, while they press the last kiss, and take the last farewell; they then deliver themselves into the hands of their unfeeling hardened tormentors. Sometimes they are obliged to be torn by force from the embraces of their friends and relations. The Sheik generally receives a dress as a present for his ready services.

But there are very few mountains that submit to such a demand. Most villages which are advantageously situated, and lie near steep precipices or inaccessible heights, that can be ascended only with difficulty, defend themselves most valiantly, and fight for the rights of liberty, with a courage, perseverance, and sacrifice, of which, history furnishes us with few examples. Very few flee at the approach of their enemies, although they might take refuge in the high mountains with all their goods, especially as they receive timely information of the arrival of their enemies; but they consider such flights cowardly and shameful, and prefer to die, fighting for their liberty.

If the Sheik does not yield to the demand, an attack is made upon the village. The cavalry and bearers of lances surround the whole mountain, and the infantry endeavour to climb the heights. Formerly they fired with cannon upon the villages and those places where the negroes were assembled,

but on account of the want of skill of the artillery-men, few shots, if any, took effect: the negroes became indifferent to this prelude, and were only stimulated to a more obstinate resistance. The thundering of the cannon at first caused more consternation than their effects, but the fears of the negroes ceased as soon as they became accustomed to it. Before the attack commences, all avenues to the village are blocked up with large stones or other impediments, the village is provided with water * for several days, the cattle and other property taken up to the mountain; in short, nothing necessary for a proper defence is neglected. The men, armed only with lances, occupy every spot which may be defended, and even the women do not remain inactive, they either take part in the battle personally, or encourage their husbands by their cries and lamentations, and provide them with arms; in short, all are active, except the sick and aged. The points of their wooden lances are first dipped into a poison which is standing by them in an earthen vessel, and which is prepared from the juice of a certain plant. The poison is of a whitish colour, and looks like milk which has been standing; the nature of the plant, and the manner

* As only few of the mountains have water on the top, it must be carried up from the foot.

in which the poison is prepared, is still a secret, and generally known only to one family in the village, who will not on any account make it known to others.

As soon as the signal is given for the attack, the infantry sound the alarm, and an assault is made upon the mountain. Thousands of lances, large stones, and pieces of wood, are then thrown at the assailants; behind every large stone a negro is concealed, who either throws his poisoned lance at the enemy, or waits for the moment, when his opponent approaches the spot of his concealment; when he pierces him with his lance. The soldiers who are only able to climb up the steep heights with great difficulty, are obliged to hang their guns over their backs, in order to have the use of their hands when climbing, and consequently are often in the power of the negroes before they are able to discover them. But nothing deters these robbers. Animated with avarice and revenge, they mind no impediment, not even death itself. One after another treads upon the corpse of his comrade, and thinks only of robbery and murder, and the village is at last taken in spite of the most desperate resistance. And then the revenge is horrible. Neither the aged nor sick people are spared, women, and even children in their mother's womb, fall a sacrifice

to their fury; the huts are plundered, the little possession of the unfortunate inhabitants carried away or destroyed, and all that fall alive into the hands of the robbers, are led as slaves into the camp. When the negroes see that their resistance is no longer of any avail, they frequently prefer death to slavery; and if they are not prevented, you may see the father rip up first the stomach of his wife, then of his children, and then of his own, that they may not fall alive into the hands of the enemy. Others endeavour to save themselves by creeping into holes, and remain there for several days without nourishment, where there is frequently only room sufficient to allow them to lie on their backs, and in that situation they sometimes remain for eight days. They have assured me, that if they can overcome the first three days, they may with a little effort, continue full eight days without food. But even from these hiding places, the unfeeling barbarians know how to draw them, or they make use of means to destroy them; provided with combustibles, such as pitch, brimstone, &c., the soldiers try to kindle a fire before the entrance of the holes; and by forcing the stinking smoke up the holes, the poor creatures are forced to creep out, and to surrender themselves to their enemies, or they are suffocated with the smoke.

After the Turks have done all in their power to capture the living, they lead these unfortunate people into the camp; they then plunder the huts and the cattle, and several hundred soldiers are engaged in searching the mountain in every direction, in order to steal the hidden harvest, that the rest of the negroes, who were fortunate enough to escape, and have hid themselves in inaccessible caves, should not find anything on their return to nourish and continue their life.

The experience of many years, however, has made the troops that are used on these expeditions more prudent; formerly, at least, one-third, and sometimes one-half of their number perished; at present, they generally confine themselves to a mere blockade, and only take by storm in case of necessity. As we have mentioned before, only a few of these mountains are provided with water, and since every avenue is intersected, the poor negroes are forced to surrender; yet before this takes place, they have to endure the most agonizing sufferings. As people provide themselves with water only for two or four days—partly because they have not a sufficient number of vessels to contain it, and partly because they think they shall not be attacked any longer, it frequently happens, that on the third day after the blockade, a scarcity of water is felt.

No situation can be more dreadful, than that of those unfortunate people. On the one hand, the fear of falling into the power of the Turks, and the prospect of death on the other, drives these poor creatures to despair. Their distress is immediately perceived in the camp, the cries of the children, and the bleating of the cattle, announce the sad condition of the village. The cattle run restlessly to and fro; and on the second or third day, they become unmanageable, and must be killed. The people in despair wrestle with death, and seek a way of deliverance, but in vain; the cruel hunters surround their game with too great a vigilance to allow any to escape alive. While many of these unfortunate beings prefer death by their own hands to slavery, and while many hide themselves in caves, in order to escape this great misery, others hold assemblies and consult about the surrender of themselves and families; but this does not soften the hard hearts of their murderers, indifferent about such sufferings, they wait with impatience for the moment when they will be able to seize their victims. This, however, is not the case with all the mountains; some of them have wells, and on that account cannot be taken in such a manner; force must be employed here, and it sometimes occurs, that the enemy is repulsed with great loss, especially where

the villages are well peopled, and are favourably situated. Sometimes the Turks will not even venture to make an attack, for fear they shall sustain too great a loss, as was the case with the mountain Daya, two days' journey from Lobeid, which was attacked three times but not taken, and where the greatest loss was sustained. But even in such cases they endeavour with satanic craftiness to bring destruction upon the unfortunate inhabitants.

When Kurshid Pacha, governor of Bellet Sudan, made an attack upon a mountain in the country of the Shelukians, and was repeatedly repulsed with great loss, and when he felt at last convinced that every attack was unavailable, and his own loss too considerable, he devised the following plan, which would have proved abortive with others, but with this unsuspicious people it succeeded. He encamped at the foot of the mountain without blockading, and remained there for several days; then he sent one of his soldiers into the village with the request to take to his people who were suffering in the camp from want of provisions, 400 dishes of food; and at the same time, assured them, that they had nothing to fear from him, for that he would not attack them any more, and would retire immediately after receiving the food. The good

natured negroes, who suspected no evil, forgot all hatred towards their enemies, and considered only their present distressing situation, were immediately ready to yield to the request, and to give the desired food. The dishes were accordingly prepared, and 400 adults took the requested number of dishes into the camp to their enemies. But now they were terribly undeceived; for as soon as they had placed the dishes on the ground, they were surrounded on all sides, at a signal given by Kurshid Pacha, and without firing one gun, or being able to think of resistance they were all made prisoners.

In those mountains where by cutting off all means of procuring the necessary provisions, especially water, the people are forced to surrender, and this surrender does actually take place after a consultation has been held; these poor miserable creatures find no alternative, they have to go to the camp. But how dreadful is their condition! deprived of all strength, partly from the fatigue of the battle, but still more so, on account of the scarcity of water, they are hardly able to keep themselves upright, and must in the strictest sense of the word be dragged down from the mountain; true, indeed, they receive some refreshment, but they are allowed a very short rest, some are so much exhausted that they cannot be dragged down, and then the Turks

have pity enough to send up the necessary water; at first a little water must be poured over their heads, and they must drink but little at a time, otherwise, they would die by drinking so quickly. But their greatest sufferings are to come yet, and frequently, if these poor creatures knew the dreadful lot that awaited them, they would all prefer death to life. They have to suffer all kinds of cruelty from their tormentors, knocks with the butt ends of the guns, thrusts with bayonets, and stripes with whips, is the usual treatment of those miserable creatures, who by reason of physical, mental, or moral, sufferings are not able to stand erect. The soldiers feel no compassion in such transportations, for as no personal interest induces them to preserve the unfortunate negroes, the only consideration with them is, to prevent every possible escape.

The Gelabs treat their slaves with more kindness, but it is only because they calculate upon more advantage, for, as every one of the negroes is considered to be a capital, they do all they can to preserve his person by a better and more humane treatment, in order not to suffer loss; but the Turks who have no such considerations treat their prisoners worse than animals.

As soon as they have obtained about 500 or 600

slaves, they are sent to Lobeid with an escort of country people, and about fifty soldiers under the command of an officer. In order to prevent escape, a sheba is hung round the necks of the adults. Such a sheba is a young tree, about eight feet long, and two inches thick, and which has a fork at the top, it is so tied to the neck of the poor creature, that the trunk of the tree hangs down in the front, and the fork closed behind the neck with a cross piece of timber, or tied together with stripes cut out of a fresh skin; and in this situation the slave, in order to be able to walk at all, is obliged to take the tree into his hands, and to carry it before him; but none can endure this very long, and to render it easier, the one in advance takes the tree of the man behind him on his shoulder. It is impossible for them to get their head free, and it frequently occurs, that they have their necks wounded, which is followed by an inflammation, and sometimes, even by death.

Boys, between ten and fifteen years of age, who cannot bear such a sheba, are tied together, two and two, with wooden clasps on their hands; this is done by placing the wood on the right arm of one, and on the left of another, above the wrist, and then lacing it tightly; the pieces of wood are scooped out at one end that the hand may fit in,

but the openings are generally too narrow, by which the hands are wounded, and dangerous ulcers created; but even if the hand should decay and fall off, no notice is taken of it, and the clasps are not removed before their arrival at Lobeid.

Other boys are tied together by two and two with leather strings. It is therefore easy for the reader to imagine with what difficulty these poor creatures walk, and what sufferings they have to endure on their march; besides which, they have very miserable food. If their strength should fail them, and become too feeble to continue walking, they experience still greater cruelty. Boys under the above mentioned ages, as well as girls, women, and aged persons are allowed to walk at liberty. Many a mother carries her sucking babe, of a few days old, in her arms; others have to carry on their backs, or in their arms, two or three of their children, as they are too young and feeble to walk by themselves. Old people, tottering with their staves, the sick and wounded walk, surrounded by their daughters, wives or relations, and are assisted and even carried occasionally by them: if one of these unfortunate persons remains behind the line but one step, he is immediately forced to proceed by blows from the butt ends of the guns, or by stripes of the whip, and if they even then

should not be able to move on, from ten to twelve of them are tied with their hands to a cord, one end of which is fastened to the pommel of a camel, and the dying thus dragged along; no pity is shewn to those who sink down, they are not released, but dragged along with the rest, even if one should die before they arrive at the appointed halting place. Before the caravan halts, no refreshment, either of food or drink, is given to the debilitated negroes; the unfeeling Turks have no compassion, even if a drop of water should be sufficient to refresh the feeble, it is not given to him, but he is left to perish.

When the caravan reaches the place, which had been fixed for rest or an encampment, those who had been dragged are now loosened, the dead and the dying thrown aside into the sand, and the latter left to their fate. No entreaties or sighs move the hearts of their tormentors; the wives and children are not even allowed to take leave of their dying husbands or fathers, or to press a farewell kiss on their dying lips; no one is allowed to approach these unfortunate persons, they are abandoned, and it is known, that frequently, when the caravan proceeds, these forsaken creatures are torn by wild beasts. No pieces of bread or drops of water are left behind; those who are left must starve with

hunger, and languish in misery, being conscious of their state, and looking forward to such a horrible death.

After from six to fourteen days, the mournful cavalcade reaches Lobeid, and it is no wonder that by such inhuman treatment, more than the eighth part of their prisoners perish on the way, no notice however is taken of it, as they are the property of government, and the interests of private individuals are not regarded.

As soon as all the slaves have arrived at Lobeid, the distribution takes place. The most suitable of them are made soldiers, and those who are considered to be under the value of 200 to 250 piastres, given to the soldiers at Cordofan and Sennaar, instead of the arrear pay. The soldiers then sell them again to slave-traders, in order to get ready money or goods. The wearied slave frequently dies before he is sold, or has not the value of the taxed sum on account of his great age or other frailties; and thus the soldiers frequently lose the whole of their pay.

It often occurs, that the father receives for his pay, his son, or the son his father, or one of his brothers or sisters, and is obliged to sell him, in order to be able to give to his comrade with whom he must divide (as one slave is to pay two soldiers)

one-half of the money. Officers as well as common soldiers are paid in the same way. The Gelabi do not generally pay so much for the slaves as government has taxed them. All that remain, are sold to the best bidder in the market. And thus, thousands of peaceable negroes, human beings like ourselves, are destroyed, in order to procure a small sum of money by which the revenue of Egypt may be increased, which on the other hand is lavished ten times by the unfaithfulness or ignorance of the officers of the state.

If Mohammed Ali were to make use of the forests of gum trees, he would secure greater gain, than from such slave captures, and would not lose the fame which he has obtained by the progressive civilization of his states.

In making up the number of the first regiment of infantry stationed at Cordofan, and Sennaar, of negroes of the southern countries, no one can blame him, because, neither Egyptians nor Syrians can stand the climate. This completion, however, might be executed in a very simple manner, without having recourse to such horrible means, if the Viceroy were to demand from five to ten recruits annually from every mountain, and treat them as the other military. Although at first, some of the Sheiks might hesitate to obey, yet, as soon as they

felt convinced, that their existence would thereby be more secured, and that nothing worse awaited them, there is no doubt but that government would receive the required recruits regularly, without losing the esteem of all humane persons by the procedure that has till now been carried on.

LETTER XVII.

Important inquiry—Abolition of the slave-trade by law—Testimony of naval officers—Native ships employed in the traffic—African sailors, chiefly slaves—Their number excites no surprise—Seizures sometimes made—The fact of the trade notorious—Captures by the navy—Government orders—The traffic carried on in the most undisguised manner—Treaty with the Imaun of Muscat—Such treaties useless—Different state of things required—Slavery in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay—Trading vessels—Mohammedans slave-holders—Remedy suggested—The province of Calet—Commission suggested for the abolition of slavery—Rout laid down, and important hints suggested—Commander Nott's report on the traffic carried on in slaves at Massowah.

INDIAN SLAVERY.

WHILE we are crying out against the continuance of the slave-trade on the part of foreign powers, it is well to ascertain if our own subjects are engaged in it, in any part of our dominions; and if the British flag waves over the heads of slaves in any sea, or in any ship belonging to British subjects.

It was consolatory enough to think that we had put down slavery in every part of our dominions, though at the enormous sacrifice of £20,000,000, by the great measure of emancipation of 1834.

It was, if possible, still more gratifying to think that the efforts of Clarkson and Wilberforce had proved successful, upwards of thirty years ago, in abolishing the trade in slaves.

Slavery, however, does exist in India, and the trade in slaves is still carried on by native Indian vessels, which sail under the British flag. The information I obtained on this subject was given to me by gentlemen in the East Indian naval service, who were returning to Europe from the shores of the Red Sea, where some of them had long been stationed.

The accounts of two of these gentlemen of the highest respectability,—and corroborated in every particular by the statements of each other,—of the actual employment of Indian vessels, under the British flag, in this felonious trade, and of the existence of slavery in India to a considerable extent, are given in their own words.

The following statement was drawn up by one of these gentlemen:—

"In the Indian Seas the traffic in slaves is carried on in native ships of various descriptions, (usually called by Europeans, Buggalows) which are, without exception, manned and navigated by the natives of India and Arabia.

"From this, however, the Portuguese must be excepted, as their trade in slaves is openly carried on in European vessels, and as it is looked upon as sanctioned by treaties, is rarely, or never interfered with.

"The number of slaves employed as sailors in the native mercantile marine must be very considerable, as I do not remember ever to have seen, amongst thousands of the above description of vessels, a single one without a considerable part of the crew being composed of Africans, who, when thus employed, are invariably slaves, either of the owners of the vessel or the commander's, who, in the East, are very different in point of station to the mere master of a ship in European countries, and fill, usually, the station of supercargo as well as that of commander.

"Even the ships of European build, and owned by natives of India, have, in the majority of cases, slaves on board, although from their being more liable to suspicion, as well as from some attention being paid to the regularity of their papers when frequenting English ports, the number on board is not so great, nor do they, as in the Buggalows, openly form a part of the crew, but are generally employed as the attendants on the commanders, or as the personal slaves of wealthy passengers.

"The universal custom which thus prevails of employing slaves on board all descriptions of native vessels, renders their presence so familiar on all occasions, as rarely to excite remark, and never any surprise, and this is one reason why the direct traffic in slaves for the markets of Persia, India, or Arabia, carried on in these vessels, although sufficiently notorious, has not excited any marked attention on the part of Europeans, who have had the means of acquiring a knowledge of the manner in which it is conducted. It is true, that from time to time, seizures have been made of vessels with slaves actually on board; but in no case, have such seizures to my knowledge, led to the confiscation of the slave ship: although, in every instance, the slaves found in the ships have been liberated.

"The only case of this nature, the particulars of which, I can at this moment bring to mind, occurred in the harbour of Juddah in the Red Sea, at the end of 1836 or beginning of 1837.

"At that time the Company's brig of war Euphrates of eighteen guns (Commander Rogers) was lying there, and this officer, in consequence of information sent to him, of slaves being actually on board many of the merchant ships then at anchor there under the English flag, searched several of them; and in two, whose names have

escaped me, found slaves (the whole of whom were boys) to the number of seven or eight. Subsequently it was ascertained, that one of the ships searched without success had, a few days previous, landed slaves, in number, between thirty and forty, and also, that smaller parties had been sent from the other vessels; and there is little doubt but that the majority of the ships then there under English colours were implicated in like proceedings. Some of the slaves thus landed were actually pointed out in the slave market, and the ships from which they came mentioned; and, on the whole, it was made perfectly clear, that a system of slave traffic for the supply of the great mart at Mecca, during the period of the pilgrimage, had by means of the annual fleet which come from all parts of the East been carried on for a long series of years, and that too, principally, under the shelter of the English flag.

The whole of the above circumstances were, at the time they occurred, officially reported to the Bombay government. The slaves were kept on board the Euphrates until an opportunity offered of sending them to India, but the ships from which they were taken were not detained from a well, founded apprehension that the necessary steps for confiscating them would not be taken, and the event

proved this step to have been the most prudent one; for, although the boys fully confirmed the fact of their having been bought and treated as slaves, and were in consequence on their arrival in India liberated, and I believe sent to one of the government schools to be educated; yet, no steps were ever taken against the slave vessels, and here, as far as they or their immediate captives were concerned, the matter ended.

"An order was given by the government a few months subsequently, prohibiting their naval officers from interfering with native vessels, unless they received special orders to that effect.

"As these orders were of course obeyed, the trade has since that time been uninterrupted; and, further, as the naval service on the coasts of India, of Arabia, on the northern shores of Africa, in the Red Sea, and Persian Gulph, is entirely in their hands, and rarely visited by any of her Majesty's ships; it follows, that the slave trade on a line of coasts, extending for several thousand miles, may be said to be without the slightest check or control.

"The Indian government have issued an order, that on no account are fugitive slaves ever to be received on board their men of war or steamers; and that if found there without permission, they are to be given up."

Such was the state of things up to the beginning of the current year. Lately, however, I observe, that the Imam of Muscat, and some other Arabian chiefs, who are dealers in slaves, have become parties to a treaty, allowing of their vessels being searched; and if found beyond certain limits with slaves on board, (beyond the number usually employed as the crew,) to be detained.

These treaties, if carried into effect, would, doubtless, be of some use in reducing the open conveying of slaves; but I do not believe, that one African less will on that account be carried into slavery. Unless the British home government take into their own hands the enforcing of these or any other steps put forth on paper for the suppression of the slave trade in India, it is useless to expect any permanent good to result from them; for if these be the only means likely to be taken on the behalf of the enslaved Africans, they *will begin and end with the mere publication of these treaties.*

As affairs are now managed, the only officers likely to be in the way of detecting vessels falling under the provisions of the treaties, are the Indian naval officers employed on the different coasts. They, it is but justice to say, are admirably qualified from their extended local knowledge, and their constant intercourse with the natives, to give effect

to a well-digested scheme of slave suppression; but as at present they would derive no benefit from seizures, and are quite aware, that zeal in such service might not be beneficial to their interests, nothing can be expected from their exertions under the existing state of affairs.

The following statement on the slave trade in the East Indies, was drawn up for me by another of the gentlemen to whom I have referred:—

"There are no regularly established slave markets in India, but it is known to all who have inquired into, or mixed in the society of Mohammedans, that slavery does exist in the principal settlements of the British government, Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; and at the latter place, the Portuguese have a considerable number of slaves. The slaves when sold, are disposed of privately, but I should have had no difficulty in procuring a slave of either sex. I cannot avoid, when on this subject, pointing out the following circumstances:—

"As the trade between Bombay and Muslat, the Persian Gulph, and on the ports on the coast of Arabia, and from Zanquibar to the places in the vicinity, is principally carried on in Arab Buggalows, which are, for the most part, navigated by Arabs, and manned by slaves; this trade, alone, is a very great cause for the Arab merchant pur-

chasing Africans for slaves, and might be easily put down.

"It is among Mohammedans a mark of their wealth and importance their being possessed of slaves, for this reason, all who can afford, purchase slaves instead of hiring servants: this custom if properly dealt with by our government would do much to put down slavery. It should be declared illegal for any person to hold a slave in British India. If such a law were properly introduced, slavery could not long subsist in India throughout the country. It is known to but few, the degraded state of society in many parts of India. In the province of Culet there is a tax paid by the people for the support of the market for mutilated negroes; this province is now under the management of Captain Melville, who will, I am convinced, use his utmost endeavours to put an end to this detestable system. The only means that I can recommend for abolishing slavery, would be to appoint a commission in each of the Presidencies of British India, to be composed of two Englishmen, one Parsee, one Hindoo, one Mohammedan, a native Christian, and a Jew; to be appointed, with the exception of one of the British officers, by the Indian government. One of the English should be selected from the Company's service, for

the knowledge he must have of Indian character; and for Bombay, I would recommend Dr. Bird, who has for years taken a leading part with regard to the amelioration of the cultivation of natives of India. But as a preliminary step, I think an impartial person should be sent to India, quite independent of the Indian government, to inquire into the great extent of slavery. He should first proceed to Egypt, then to Juddah, to reach the latter port in June; from thence proceed to Mocha, then to Massowah, the great emporium of the Abyssinian slave trade; from Massowah to Ada, from the latter place he should proceed to Bombay, when, with the information he has already derived, he would gain a thorough insight into the traffic: from Bombay he should visit Surat, where the sale of female slaves is carried on to a great extent from Zanquibar, and thence through the interior of the British dominions in India, where slavery does exist, unfortunately, to a great amount."

The following extracts are from a report by Acting Commander Nott of the Indian Navy, on the traffic in slaves, &c., carried on at Massowah, presented in 1838.

Massowah.—Population between three and four thousand. It is considered far superior as a port,

and also in a commercial point of view, to any place on the western side of the Red Sea. Merchants from the interior of Abyssinia come and reside here during the Hadj, with their agents, whose guests they are for the time.

The articles of export brought here from the interior of Abyssinia for other ports in the Red Sea, are slaves, musk, hides, elephants' teeth, gum-arabic, very excellent ghee, and bees wax.

On the 16th of February, there were in the town of Massowah, one thousand slaves ready for shipment, in small vessels of twenty-five tons, for Juddah. The nations of these slaves are, 1st. Gallas, who are faithful, clever, and capable of attaining any art or science, but prone to suicide. 2nd. Abyssinians, for the most part christians, generally entrapped into slavery by the Mussulmans who inhabit the borders of Abyssinia, between the mountains and the sea. ' 3rd. From Seedamah, a christian country in an unknown part of Africa. 4th. Shengalah slaves, are negroes living on the northern frontier of Abyssinia. These last are never transported beyond the precincts of the island Massowah. It is to be remarked, that there are still some Abyssinian and Galla slaves, who are born moslems, but who are nevertheless kept in slavery.

It is stated that the Hababb, Halli, and Shahoo

people, (all moslems) gain a livelihood by kidnapping and making slaves of Abyssinian christians; and although it is acknowledged that none are slaves but those who have been bought, or taken in war, yet the principal merchants have often appealed in vain to the Turkish governor at Massowah, to liberate kidnapped christians.

It is affirmed, that 25 per cent. is lost on slaves from Massowah to Juddah by sickness.

The nayb of Arkekoo (a town on the south-west of Massowah Bay) levies a tax of one dollar per head, on slaves brought from the interior. The king of Abyssinia, two dollars upon every three slaves; Oubeeah, the hereditary prince of the province of Seemaner, residing at Adoa, one dollar a head. The slaves are sold by auction, and the auctioneer gets one dollar per head.

Last year, according to the account of an Abyssinian merchant, there were sold at Massowah one thousand five hundred and three christian slaves.

A Galla slave, aged about twenty-five, is worth from thirty to forty dollars, at Massowah; a good female slave for the Harem, sold not long since for one hundred and fifteen dollars. The Abyssinians purchase and keep, but never sell their slaves.

Habab, means that part of the country extending

coastwise from Ackeek island, (a short distance south of Suakin) to the bottom of Annesley Bay; and inland, it is said to extend to the first range of Abyssinian mountains. The people inhabiting this part are in language, faith, manners, and customs, completely distinct from the Abyssinians; their faith is now the moslem, to which they are said to have been converted about one hundred years ago.

LETTER XVIII.

Reasons for this publication—Doctrines of the Jewish Rabbis—Mishna—Father Tommaso—His disappearance—Inquiry instituted by the French Consul-General—Cruel tortures—Self accusations—Sufferings of children—Mosheh Abulafie—Public opinion—Report of one of the clergy—Finding of bones—Meyer Farchi—Firmness of a female slave.

PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS AT DAMASCUS.

THE appearance of letters recently published on the question of the doctrines of the Jewish religion, and the tendency of these letters being to involve the Jews of Damascus (lately accused of murdering a man for the purpose of obtaining human blood for sacrifice,) in the odium that justly attaches to the ancient fanatical opinions, and intolerant and intolerable Rabbinical dogmas of barbarous times, have determined me to put this statement forth of all the circumstances that have come to my knowledge of the inquiry that has been made into the question, of the guilt or innocence of the accused parties at Damascus; an inquiry which I took a part in the proceedings of, and from peculiar circumstances had ample means of procuring information upon, from those most interested in upholding the views

of the French Consul at Damascus, as well as from those whose interests and feelings were identified with those of the accused.

I have thought it desirable to preface this statement with a brief reference of the origin and authority of the traditionary law of the Jews. With respect to the authority of the Talmud, and the distinction between the two general sects into which the whole body of the Jewish nation is divided, namely, the Karites and the Rabbinists. "The Karites," says Beausobre, "are those who adhere to the plain and literal sense of the Holy Scriptures, rejecting all manner of tradition, as being of divine origin. The Rabbinists, otherwise called the Cabalists, or Talmudists, are those, on the contrary, who own and receive the oral or traditionary law as divine." The latter by the great body of the Jews, who receive the Talmud, is held to be of equal authority with the written law of Moses.

These traditions were about the second century after Christ reduced to writing, and this written collection was called the Mishna. The comments which were made on these traditions were called Gemara, and the united Mishna and Gemara form the Talmud.

It would be a very painful task to enter on any new detail of the atrocities committed on the unfor-

tunate Jews of Damascus. They have been already laid before the public, and it is needless to repeat them; but it is necessary to refer to the general conduct of the prosecutors in this cause, and in two or three instances, to the nature of the proceedings adopted by them.

Father Tommaso, superior of the Latin Convent at Damascus, an aged man, upwards of sixty years of age, thirty-three of which he spent in Damascus, generally esteemed, and even regarded with affection by the Jews, (whose children he was in the habit of inoculating,) left his Convent on the 5th of February, 1840, accompanied by his servant, a native christian, and neither of them returned to it again. On the 7th of February, the French Consul demanded of the Governor Scheriffe Pacha, an investigation into the circumstances of the Padre's disappearance; the French having by treaty the protection of Roman Catholics resident in those countries.

The first act of the persons by whom this judicial investigation was carried on, was to send for certain sorcerers or diviners called Sheiks, to discover the assassins, and the sorcerers pronounced the Jews to be guilty of the murder.

The next important step on the part of the French Consul, was to procure the liberation of a

Mohammedan of bad repute, named Mohammed Telli, who was then confined in prison; this man having made proposals to the Consul to discover the murderer of the priest from his acquaintance with the bad characters among the Jews.

The first witness who voluntarily came forward to give evidence calculated to remove the suspicion which was thrown on the Jewish body, one Farash Katash was immediately put into prison. Another witness who voluntarily came forward, one Yitshack Yavoh, to give evidence on behalf of the accused, was laid down, received some thousand stripes, and was carried away to prison in a dying state, and there he died in a few days. Another unfortunate witness, an old man, one of the Jewish watchmen of the city, who could not be induced to confess what he did not believe to be true against the prisoners, was likewise flogged to death.

A third and a fourth victim likewise perished from the effects of the tortures inflicted on them: and when the survivors go to the French Consul and offer a reward of 50,000 piastres or £500 sterling for the discovery of the murderers, they are subsequently put to the torture themselves, confess that they are guilty, and are then called on to pay the reward for the discovery as it is called, that was made by their own confession.

The persecution carried on, on the part of the consul and his judicial associates, extended even to the families of the accused. Their poor children to the number of fifty or sixty (Pieritz states, sixty-three) were seized on, and for the space of twenty-eight days, the tormentors alternately employed threats and promises to induce the poor children to inform against their parents and relations. One of the children was at least tempted to say, he saw his father kill the priest and bury him in his school master's court-yard. The poor child's recollection of his school-master's house, probably was associated with juvenile feelings of terror, and the court-yard was the first place he thought of where anything that was bad ought to have happened. The wise-acres of Damascus, the Consul, and his associates proceeded to the spot indicated, and nothing was discovered.

One of the prisoners Mosheh Abulafie was now accused of having the blood in his possession, and having been flogged severely, confessed that it was in his house, and begged, in order to obtain a brief respite from his sufferings, to be taken there. He was dragged to his house, the Consul as usual was present at the seen of terror; the poor mangled wretch tottered into his house called to his terrified wife, "to give up the blood," and the wretched

woman standing bewildered before him, asked "what blood he speaks of." He called her to a cupboard, and asked her (unheard as he imagined) for a knife, but the wary Consul prevented the blood of his victim from being passed off, for that of the priest. He laid hold of the rope which was thrown round the unfortunate man's neck, and pulled him to the ground. He was then dragged back to the governor; there was no hope of escape from a renewal of his sufferings, he abjured his faith, the convert was duly received into the Mohammedan religion, and was given the name of the founder of it.

But it is not only that the prisoners were made to confess whatever tallied with the suspicions, or corresponded with the views of their prosecutors; but where other evidence was required against them, the most extraordinary pains were taken to poison the public mind, not only against the prisoners, but against the whole Jewish people.

These efforts proved so successful, that persons of a profession, the obligations of whose members to truth and charity are peculiarly strong, suffered their judgments to be led captive by public prejudice, and gave credit to calumnies, which they never could have calmly and soberly inquired into. In the published report of one of the clergy of Damascus, addressed to the *Prefect Modestus d' Onano*

of Beirout, which has been so widely circulated, the circumstance of the finding of certain bones, alleged to be those of father Tommaso, is thus related, "*the murderers cut up his flesh, and reduced his bones to dust, by pounding them with an iron pestle;*" and then he goes on to say:—On the 27th of February, the barber and Mourad, "*revealed the place where the bones and intestines of the murdered priest were thrown*"—*and in the sewer was found the broken bones, &c., and at the suggestion of the Consul, the Pacha caused an examination of the bones to be made, to ascertain whether they were human bones or not.*"

Here we find at the beginning of this report of a person, who was not only a firm believer in the guilt of the accused, but in that of "*all the Jews of note here (of Damascus) as cognizant of, or accomplices in, this atrocious crime;*" that the bones of the priest were "pounded to dust," and at the end of the report, we find them discovered in pieces sufficiently large to be recognised by three Italians, and six Turkish physicians, as human bones.

The bones that were really found, did not amount to one-fourth of those of an adult human body; and one of the identical physicians, Lograsso, named in the former report as declaring them human, we find in Pieritz report, in examining the fragments

of bones found near the same place, who is said to be "*the only man in Damascus appearing to know anything of medicine or anatomy, declaring to the consternation of the French Consul, that all the bones found now, were indisputably, one and all, animal bones.*"

Now the writer of this statement has asserted, that which could not by his own showing by any possibility be true, and could bring himself at the termination of his report to declare, that "the activity and zeal displayed by the Consul in this sad business is beyond all praise; and the Pacha on his side had given proof of the utmost energy in the measures he employed;" it was some consolation however, for me to find,—that the superior of the order to which this clergyman belonged in Egypt, though believing that his brother Franciscan had been murdered by some fanatic of the Jewish nation at Damascus, was strongly opposed to the proceedings that had taken place. He reprobated in measured, but at the same time most significant language, the conduct of the French Consul, and he deplored in terms of the strongest concern, the unholy zeal with which these proceedings had been carried on. A reward of 5000 piastres had been offered for the fugitive Jews. A young man the son of Meyer Farchi was taken up and called

on to declare where his father was hid, he said he did not know, and though in a very sickly state, he was sentenced to be flogged; after he had received some stripes of the courbash, he prayed for mercy, bade them send for his mother, who perhaps knew where his father was. This wretched woman was brought before the governor, saw her son in the hands of the executioners, was called on to betray her husband, or witness the torture of her child. The scourges recommenced, lash after lash, this poor creature saw inflicted on her child, till he had received about 300, the struggle at length became too great for human nature to endure any longer, she saved her son at the sacrifice of her husband; she told them where he was concealed, and he was immediately arrested. He denied any knowledge of the murder, and told the governor, if his intention was to torture him into a confession, the infliction was needless, he would confess whatever was required without torture. He did confess, and was then called on to pay the 5000 piastres, that were offered for his discovery.

During the proceedings against the Arrari's, a female slave of David Arrari was brought before the governor, and called on to give evidence against her master. This girl was promised rich presents and *even permission to marry*, (this is worthy of

notice by the eulogisers of Turkish slavery) if she would declare her master's guilt. The poor slave declared, that she believed "her master was innocent, and she could not say he was guilty." The ruffian of a governor then drew his sword, and threatened to cut off her head, if she did not confess what he called the truth. The girl replied—"I am a Mohammedan, and only the slave of these Jews, if I knew anything against them, I would not deny it." Pieritz in alluding to this circumstance, says in his report, "I must not omit to pay my tribute of praise to the constancy of the poor Mohammedan female slave of David Arrari. I mentioned already the threats and temptations held out to her in vain. She was subsequently arrested, and when I left Damascus, she was forty days in prison. She was examined almost daily, and generally also tortured; but, nevertheless, she remained firm as a rock in the assertion of her master's innocence."

In fact, the governor of Damascus in his treatment of the slave, reasoned like the philosopher Pliny on a similar occasion, when in his letter to Trajan, speaking of the difficulty of getting evidence against the Christians, he says, "This caused me to think it was the more necessary to extort the truth by means of torture from two slave girls, whom they, (the Christians) acknowledged

were initiated in their mysteries." But the fidelity of the poor natives of Africa, torture itself could not subdue; nor could the perfidious promises, nor the unbridled fury of the Egyptian governor of Damascus, tempt or overcome her courage. In ancient times, statues would have been raised in honour of the person who displayed half her heroism, and yet we are living in times, when "the noble deeds of women" are held up to public admiration; but who is to do honour to the heroism of the slave, to see that justice is done to her noble courage, and even to suggest that her fidelity should be rewarded by her immediate liberation from slavery. I have not departed unintentionally from the order of the narrative of these lamentable proceedings. It was a relief to come to this occurrence, and to be able to close so frightful an account of human sufferings, and so appalling a display of the wickedness of human beings with one consolatory exhibition of the highest manifestation of intrepid virtue, on the part of one in the lowest rank and most abject condition of all mankind.

LETTER XIX.

Deputation—Of whom composed—Object of mission stated—Arrival in Egypt—Prevailing opinion—M. Cochelet—M. Thiers—Interviews with Mohammed Ali—Application for a firman refused—Reasons for refusal—Political difficulties—Firman granted and Dispatched by the Pacha—Substance of the firman—Reasons for not going to Damascus—Success of the mission—Official reports—Guilt not established by evidence—Suspicious circumstances—Pieritz's statement—Similar charges against the early Christians—Spirit of animosity and hatred evinced—Triumphantly vindicated by the Fathers—Historical records identical with the charges against the Jews at Damascus—Argument from Tertullian—Conduct of the French Consul-General—Tortures inflicted in his presence—His denial of the infliction of tortures—His conduct shielded by M. Thiers—Commissioner sent to Damascus by the French—Conviction of the falsehood of the charge—Even-handed justice—Termination of his inquiries—Promotion—State of the Jews in the East—Disputation of the Rabbins—Exclusive dealing at Smyrna—Injurious effects on the poor—Establishment of schools—Duty of all to promote education and improvement, irrespective of religious opinion—Education in the East especially urged upon those of the Jewish persuasion.

On my return to Europe from the West Indies, on leave of absence, the sphere of my duties having been transferred to Africa, and the period of my departure for that country fixed for the latter part of October, I accompanied Sir Moses Montefiore on

his benevolent mission to the East, to inquire into the charges brought against the Jews of Damascus; to ascertain, if possible, the real facts of the case, respecting the murder or disappearance of the priest Father Tommaso; and, finally, to endeavour to prevent the recurrence of those frightful evils which the use of torture had recently occasioned, and if possible, to obtain from the ruler of Egypt and Syria, the promulgation of a law, prohibiting totally the use of torture in all judicial proceedings, throughout the whole of those provinces that are now subject to his power.

This seemed to me to be a good work, and I willingly engaged in it. The other gentlemen who accompanied Sir Moses Montefiore and his lady were, Mr. David Wire, the late under sheriff of the City of London, the professional adviser of Sir Moses, and charged with the legal management of the proceedings, and Doctor Lawe, in the capacity of secretary and interpreter; the latter gentleman, for some years past, oriental linguist to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex. The strong interest taken in the objects of the mission by the British government, and the sanction and assistance given to it by the government, and the influence of the high character of the leading person who had undertaken the direction of this inquiry, gave a

character to its proceedings which largely contributed to its success.

The English mission was joined at Marseilles by Monsieur Cremieux and his lady, and Mr. Munk, an oriental linguist, in the service of the Bibleotheque Royale of Paris; Monsieur Cremieux, a distinguished advocate at the French bar, is of the Jewish persuasion, and was appointed by the committee formed in Paris to co-operate with the British mission.

I think this brief account of the object of this mission, and of those who were engaged in it is necessary, and I may state once for all, that the persons with whom I was associated in this business, differing, as they did, in religious opinions, as to the end and object of their inquiry, to the best of my belief, had but one sentiment, and had no other purpose to serve than to ascertain the truth, and wherever the guilt of blood, and the crime of persecution could be traced, that the evil doers should be exposed and punished, without reference to the creed or clime of those who really were guilty.

On our arrival in Egypt, we found nearly the whole Frank population at Alexandria and Cairo, strongly persuaded of the guilt of the Jews, the opinion of their culpability was entertained with few exceptions, by all classes of christians in Egypt

and Syria; by those even who sympathized with the Jews on the general ground of their abhorrence of the use of torture.

I believe, amongst the latter, I might include his Highness Mohammed Ali, who is by no means disposed to encourage judicial atrocities of this kind, or to tolerate the injustice and sanguinary acts of other men, where no great interest of his own is to be served, or promoted by such means.

The opinion I have stated, was shared generally by the agents of foreign governments in Egypt and Syria. And these opinions, in no single instance, could I find resulted from any personal investigation of the subject; but it seemed to me, that when Tertullian traced the source of the same calumny, when it was levelled against the christians in the very dawn of their religion, he could not have given a better description of the rise and progress of the calumny now thrown on the religion of the Jews. "*These reports,*" *said he,* "*had a beginning, and they have passed through an infinity of mouths and ears; thrown out first at random, they became soon so confused and intermingled, that nobody thought of ascending to the source where truth had been infected with the poison of a lie.*"—Apolog. p. 8.

The more moderate opinions prevalent on the

subject are those entertained, and expressed to myself by Monsieur Cochelet, the French Consul-general at Alexandria, and are to this effect, that Damascus is the great stronghold of fanaticism in the East, that all classes of religionists in that city are embued with this spirit, and the people of the Hebrew persuasion as much as any of the others. That the hatred of the different sects is carried to the extent of endangering the lives and damaging the characters of one anothers' members, of seeking every opportunity of persecuting the followers of religions the least remotely differing from their own; that certain of these fanatics of the Jewish persuasion had assassinated Father Tommaso for the purpose of using his blood in some superstitious ceremonies; that this crime of theirs does not affect the religious character of the Jews in other countries; and that the use of the blood of human beings in their rites is confined to those countries where fanaticism so largely prevails.

These were the opinions, Monsieur Cochelet expressed to me; and I have good reason to believe, these are the opinions on which Monsieur Thiers has acted, and by which he justifies the conduct of his Consul or agent at Damascus.

At the first interview of Sir M. Montefiore, accompanied by myself, Mr. Wire, and Dr. Lawe,

with the Pacha, an address was presented to his Highness, setting forth the wrongs inflicted on the Jews, in the late events that had taken place at Damascus, praying to be permitted to proceed immediately to that city, to investigate the matter; and on the return of the mission to be allowed to lay before his Highness any evidence that might be obtained, tending to establish the truth or falsehood of the present charge against the Jews. The Pacha replied, he would take a week to consider of this application; and at the expiration of that period we waited again on him, and were told, the pressure of political subjects did not allow him to give a definitive answer to our application. After some days, we had another interview, and equally unsuccessful; and then we made a direct application by Mr. Consul Larkin, for a firman to proceed to Damascus. His Highness refused to grant it. We found the influence of Monsieur Cochelet had been directly exerted to prevent the Pacha from acceding to our demand. Monsieur Cremieux had taken steps to ascertain how far Monsieur Cochelet was disposed to second or oppose an application for the immediate release of the prisoners, and permission for the mission to proceed to Damascus.

The result of this communication was, that no co-operation whatever was to be expected from

Monsieur Cochelet, except so far as *consenting* to the Pacha's *pardon* of the prisoners, and a stop to all further proceedings in this business; but with regard to the mission proceeding to Damascus, to make inquiry into what had taken place under the sanction of the authorities at Damascus, he would not give his consent to it.

In the mean time, we had another interview with his Highness, and at this period, his political difficulties increasing daily, it was easy to perceive that French influence was diminishing in proportion as these difficulties augmented, and though he did not yet accede to our demands, we had reason to think he was now becoming more favourably disposed towards them. In fact, it was impossible for any person of common intelligence not to perceive that the appearance of the British squadron off these shores, and the non-appearance of any French force, had operated very beneficially on the moral views of his Highness, and had considerably modified his notions on the subject of our demand.

It was the opinion of Monsieur Cremieux, however, that the Pacha should not be pressed with further applications during his present difficulties, and that the mission should now trust solely to

French influence, indirect in its application for its success; so great was the supposed animosity of his Highness, not only to the British authorities but to all British subjects, for the part the British government was then taking against his interests in Syria. It was my opinion, however, that the political proceedings that were then taking place, were but additional motives for pressing an application, and that their probable tendency was to impair the influence of Monsieur Cochelet, and to render the necessity greater of conciliating English opinion, for which his Highness is well known to have the strongest desire. We, besides, had the advantage at this juncture of the honest, earnest, and most influential co-operation of Mr. S. Briggs, to whom the friends of this cause are deeply indebted, both for his humane conduct at Damascus and at Alexandria. We accordingly waited again on his Highness, and on Sir Moses Montefiore's renewed solicitation, his Highness stated his intention (according to our demands,) of addressing a firman to his governor at Damascus, in compliance with the application of Sir Moses, of which, a copy should be furnished to him, and, ultimately, we obtained this document in a manner more gratifying to the wishes of the mission, than at first it

appeared to be, it was dispatched by the Pacha to the governor at Damascus, and a copy of it also presented to Sir Moses Montefiore, who immediately sent it to Damascus.

This firman was to the following effect:—"That the Jews held in confinement, on the charge of having murdered the Father Tommaso, should be liberated; that all persons of the Jewish persuasion, who had fled from Damascus at the period of the transactions which have taken place in that city, should have immediate liberty to return to their homes with full protection for their lives and property."

And further, his Highness gave another firman to Sir Moses, awarding to him and those who accompained him, the fullest protection from his authorities, and permission to proceed to Damascus.

At the same time, his Highness suggested to Sir Moses, that his immediate journey to Damascus might renew the animosities that had prevailed, and lead the parties that had been at variance in their opinions on this subject, to fresh disputes; and this consideration, coupled with the unsettled state of political affairs, he suggested might make it more advisable for Sir Moses to defer his journey to Damascus for some time.

Sir Moses, on this point, consulted the British

Admiral, then blockading the port of Alexandria, and also the British Consul, Colonel Hodges, and both these gentlemen were of opinion, that it was not advisable for the mission to proceed to Damascus, in fact, that it was quite impracticable in the present posture of affairs in Syria.

So far the object of the mission having been gained, by the liberation of the nine men held in confinement, by the entire cessation of the persecution, and permission to the fugitives to return to their families; Sir Moses, saw the inutility of waiting further in Egypt, than for the return of the messenger sent to Damascus with the copy of the firman for the liberation of the prisoners, and the certain information of its having been faithfully carried into execution.

In compliance with my instructions to be in readiness to proceed with the African expedition on the 16th of October, I returned to England, and on the arrival of the messenger from Damascus, Sir Moses and the other gentlemen of the English mission proceeded to Constantinople. The messenger brought back the gratifying information, that the firman, immediately on its being received by Scheriffe Pacha, had been carried into execution, the unfortunate men who suffered so much, and had survived the cruelties which had terminated the

lives of four of their companions, were conducted to their homes from the scene of their late frightful suffering, preceded by bands of music, and accompanied by many of the most respectable moslem inhabitants of the city, as well as by some of the better class of the christian population.

During our stay in Egypt, we collected the various reports made by the parties engaged in instituting the proceedings carried on against the accused, as well as the several communications made by the Jews to their friends in Egypt. The official report of Scheriffe Pacha, the governor of Damascus to Mohammed Ali, of the judicial proceedings in this case; the reports of the Austrian and British Consuls at Damascus to their superiors, the report of Mr. Pieritz, the missionary, who was present at Damascus, when some parts of these proceedings were carried on; and lastly, a verbal account of the nature and extent of the report from Monsieur Ratti Menton, the French Consul at Damascus, to the Consul-general, at Alexandria, derived from persons in the confidence of Monsieur Cochelet, and from that gentleman's admission to myself and Mr. Wire, of the precise data on which M. Ratti Menton, grounded his opinions, and the course he pursued in acting on them.

The result of the calmest and most earnest atten-

tion it was possible to give, either to the evidence of the friends or opponents of the accused, was to leave the strongest impression on my mind, that there was not a tittle of evidence, independent of confessions of guilt wrung from men, either under torture, or terrified with the menace of it, and previously suggested to them, to found an opinion upon, of the guilt of the accused parties.

With respect to myself, being furnished with documents from the highest authorities of my own church to the Roman Catholic clergy of Damascus and of Egypt, calling on them to give me every assistance in this inquiry; and, being considered to have no other object in view than to ascertain the truth, and bring home the guilt of the murder of an unoffending priest, of my own persuasion, to the parties who were the real culprits, whoever they might be; I was enabled to communicate more freely than I might otherwise have done with ecclesiastics and others in Egypt, on this subject, and especially with the superior of the Franciscan order at Alexandria, of the order to which Padre Tommaso belonged. With such means of obtaining information, and the best use of them I was capable of making, I have no hesitation in declaring it was impossible for me to come to any other conclusion, than, that the Jews of Damascus

accused of murdering the Father Tommaso, for the purpose of using his blood in their religious ceremonies, were entirely innocent of the crime laid to their charge; and further, I feel bound to declare, that circumstances had transpired in the course of these proceedings, which were calculated to attach grave suspicions of the culpability of other parties, which circumstances, were suffered by the authorities of Damascus to pass unnoticed. The disclosure of them cannot fail to leave an impression, that other motives, besides the discovery of the real perpetrators of the supposed murder, influenced those by whom these proceedings were carried on.

Pending these proceedings, it was known to the parties, that a man who had a quarrel with the Father Tommaso and his servant in the public streets, a few days previously to the disappearance of the latter, had been found strangled in his house.

The circumstances of this quarrel, one might have expected would have been detailed in the reports of the proceedings. The death of the man in question is, however, only noticed in them, and it is stated, that he had committed suicide. The crime of suicide is one very little known in Mohammedan countries; and, notwithstanding, the circumstances were of public notoriety, which had preceded this event,

no investigation whatever was made into this strange occurrence.

In Pieritz's report, this occurrence is noticed in these terms:—"It is known that a day or two before the disappearance of Father Tommaso and his servant, they had a violent dispute with a certain Sheik el Mukari, the leader of the muleteers of the name of Ebr Ivah, in a much frequented place, the Khan Assaa Basha, where while the robust servant of Father Tommaso seized the man by the throat, and held him till the blood came, his master, Father Tommaso, abused him in his faith, (which was Mohammedanism,) which caused great dissension among the by-standing Mohammedans, and especially called forth the same violent language from a respectable Mohammedan merchant, of the name of Ebn Yekhyeh el Kaphar, while the muleteer swore that Padre Tommaso should never die but by his hands; and now it happened that as the report got abroad of the disappearance of the monk and his servant, the last mentioned merchant also disappeared.

"At first, they threw the suspicion of the murder of this merchant also on the Jews; but the eye of the public being arrested by the shop of the merchant remaining closed, and the door being

forced, the man was found dead, hanging in his shop, the door being carefully secured from within.

"The Jews, as other reasonable men, then thought that an investigation would take place, and that it might appear that the merchant, in consequence of the above dispute, was the murderer, either by himself or together with the ill-used enraged muleteer or others, and that he destroyed himself in order to escape torture and disgrace; but alas! no investigation took place, the muleteer was not even examined, on whom the suspicion, independent of the merchant, rests so heavily."

Now with regard to this occurrence, an Italian who practised as physician in Damascus at the time, and had come down to Alexandria, while I was there, gave a friend of mine an account of this quarrel, and the causes which led to it. He stated that Father Tommaso was in the habit of attending sick people, and had been in attendance on a young woman who had died, and who was the friend of the man who entered into the altercation with Father Tommaso in the street, and the subject of this quarrel was the want of success in the treatment that had been employed. I expressed a wish to have an interview with this doctor, but from prudential motives it was refused.

In the whole of these proceedings, the parties

instigating Scheriffe Pacha to the prosecution of the Jews, appear to have acted under the influence of ungovernable passion, and of feelings exasperated apparently by their utter inability to procure any legal evidence of the crime, which the concurrent rumours of public prejudice had laid to the charge of the religious tenets of the Jews in every part of the East, and precisely on the same foundation as the Jews themselves, and the Romans in the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, in the second century, had charged the christians with the practice of killing a child and eating the blood mixed with flour at their religious ceremonies. The christians have now the upper hand, and they have turned the tables on the Jews.

It is impossible to form any adequate notion of the vagueness of the rumour on which this calumny was founded, or the wickedness of the malevolence with which it was propagated, without referring to the persecution that sprung from this slander in former times. Origen, who wrote in 249, A.D., in the most celebrated and learned of all his works, his treatise against Celsus the epicurean philosopher, the ablest of all the adversaries of christianity, and from whose armoury all the weapons of deism have been taken in modern times, has refuted most successfully the charge of shedding

human blood for religious purposes, brought against the christians, so boldly, and for a long time, so triumphantly, by Celsus. St. Justin, who wrote about the year 150, says in his apology, page 70, "We are accused of midnight re-unions when our torches are extinguished, we are said to deliver ourselves up to infamous revels, and the eating of human flesh."

Tatien wrote about 167, in the treatise against the Gentiles, page 169, "You accuse us of being cannibals, but you know well that you are slanderers."

Athenagoras, about 177, in his letter to Marcus Aurelius, triumphantly refutes the same slander. "We indeed," he says, "to take pleasure in the eating of human flesh? before it is eaten, the victim must be killed, and the one crime is not better proved than the other; let those who assert it, say, have they seen it; I defy the most impudent liar to say so. There are amongst those who possess slaves, some more, some less, from whom it is impossible to conceal what we do, never has this charge originated with one of them against us. How then can men be accused of such crimes who are known to hold it for a principle, not even to assist at an execution, however legitimate it may be; and yet what ardour do we not see

for the spectacles of gladiators, and the combats of wild beasts, which the Imperial country lavishes on the curiosity of the people; we, alone, fly from them, and shall we, then, steep our hands in blood, who do not permit ourselves even to assist at those sports, which we regard as criminal from the fear of being rendered useless by them. This would be indeed a monstrous contradiction on our parts."

Eusebius, in his ecclesiastical history, cites a letter from the churches of Lyons and Vienne, to those of Asia and Phrygia, about the year 177. This letter details the particulars of a furious persecution raised against the christians, on the charge being brought against them of eating human flesh at their religious festivals, and committing frightful crimes in their secret meetings. "We had," says the letter, "slaves amongst us who though pagans, were arrested, the government having ordered that none belonging to us should escape."

These slaves, whether from the force of the tortures with which they were menaced, or by a secret instigation of the devil, renewed against us all the old and frightful calumnies with which the pagans blackened our reputation, and that of the innocence of the church. They charged us with eating human flesh, like Thyestes, and contracting incestuous marriages like Œdipus.

"Scarcely had these false accusations been spread amongst the people, than there arose a universal clamour against us. Those who had preserved for us some spark of humanity showered malediction on us.

"The consideration due to women, even respected amongst the most barbarous nations was no guarantee for their safety, nor for that of Blandine, (one of their slaves). But the Lord wishing to show in the person of the holy woman, that those who seem vile in the eyes of men, often are worthy of being honoured by God himself.

"She was of a nature so delicate, that we trembled for her. But by the strength of grace, she was enabled to brave the different executioners who tortured her the entire day.

"But this holy woman, like a courageous combatant, constantly cried out, 'I am a christian woman, we do not commit those crime.'

"Biblis, her companion, another of the christian women, who had previously been tormented into a renunciation of her faith, was again put to the torture of a further confession for the crimes imputed to the christians; but in the midst of her sufferings, she cried out, '*can those be accused of eating children, who, from motives of religion, abstain from the blood of animals.*' From that moment her constancy was never shaken, till her martyrdom was

accomplished, and that of her companion Blandine." The blood of the poor slave was pure enough to quicken the seeds of our religion,—*sanguis martyrum semen christianorum.*

Municius Felix, the Roman advocate, likewise repudiated the murderous charge, he says, "What are we to understand of these fables, continually disseminated, but never investigated or proved."

In his celebrated dialogue between Cecilius and Octavius, he says, "We were persuaded that the christians adored monsters, devoured infants, and abandoned themselves to dissolute courses in their festal meetings. We never reflected that no one had sought to verify these accusations, far indeed, from thinking to prove them; and that among so many pretended culprits, not one had confessed the crime, however assured of impunity or recompense for so doing." p. 257. At pages 85 and 87, "Cecilius denounces this christian practice of murdering human beings to drink their blood and eat their flesh, so universally ascribed to them at that time, in the very language employed at this day; and at the end of 1700 years, the charge seems suited in all its details, for the meridian of Damascus."

The accounts, he says, that are given of their initiations, and at those of the catechumens, who had been previously excluded from the sacrament

are no less horrible than those of their other practices. All the world is of one accord as to the details; in the obscurity of night, a child is conveyed into their assembly, the body of which is covered with flour, the person initiated, without repugnance, strikes the victims, the assembly receive the blood, they greedily drink it; they then divide the flesh among them, and make a horrific banquet of it. Such is the bond of union which keeps them in communion, and reciprocally binds the members in silence.

"Such sacrifices are worse than sacrilege, there is no mistake about these repasts, the accusation is preserved in judicial records." Such to-day is the language of the minister of France, and of the fanatics of the East, in relation to the charges which now the christians bring against the Jews.

Tertullian published his apology towards the year 194, A. D. "Christianity," he says, "commenced under Tiberius, no sooner was truth made known than it was hated, so many strangers to it, so many enemies, the Jews from jealousy, your soldiers for plunder sake, our servants debased by their condition from motives of malevolence, every day we are encompassed by them, and every day we are betrayed, frequently by the soldiers, we are attacked in the midst of our assemblies. Has it

ever happened, that any one heard the cries of the child who has been slain by our hands; name the denouncer of our people who has shown to the judge our crimsoned lips?

"It is rumour then which has informed you of these crimes, all the world knows what rumour is of, one of your poets calls it, 'a monster which nothing equals in the celerity of its flight,' which lives only upon lies, with scraps of truth, or deviations more or less, and it sustains itself only while the thing that it publishes remains in doubt."—p. 8, *Apology*.

Let us imagine the unfortunate Jews of Damascus, appealing to the Consul of the French nation against the charges of the christians of the nineteenth century, in the language of Tertullian, the christian advocate of the second century.

"Let us admit that we promise to ourselves a recompense for the abominations you attribute to us, and that recompense nothing less than eternal life. Believe it if you can, you do believe it, then let me ask you, do you desire this recompense at such a price? come into our assemblies, plunge the knife into the heart of that child who has never done ill to human being, who is accused of no crime, and whom every one present feels for as his own; or if this be too much, let another be the execu-

tioner and assist at the sacrifice; see that little creature of the same blood as yourself die, before it could be almost said to begin to live: calculate the time when the spirit departs from the body that it has inhabited for so short a period, receive the young blood, dip your bread into it, taste it, and eat it without repugnance. Behold the initiatory sacrifice, you are sealed with the blood that puts you in possession of eternal life. I ask you in sober earnest, do you desire it on such terms? If this be only a chimera, how can you believe it? but you do believe in it, and hold it in abhorrence; you desire to live hereafter, and this, most assuredly you do not consider the way to gain eternal life? But is that which would be impossible for you, possible for others, are we then of a nature different from yours? Are we monsters? Has God organized us especially for these atrocities, for the eating of human flesh? If you believe us capable of such things, you must believe yourself so? Since you are men like us, and you ought to believe us incapable of these crimes, if you feel that you are so, because we are also men like you."—*Tertullian Apol.* p. 9.

Alas, the ears of the French Consul were closed against every appeal, the accents of grief and anguish, the solicitations of the wretched wives and daughters of the sufferers reached his ear, but not

his heart; and even at such moments, there were amongst these miserable women, one who had to sue for her husband's life, and to listen at the same time to the language of libertinism, and to endure to be reminded, that "Esther of old, had saved the people of her nation from persecution, and had espoused their ancient enemy."

The only evidence against the prisoners, is their own confessions, and each of these confessions, it is admitted by all parties, were extorted under the use of torture; the question between the prisoners and the prosecutors, now is, what kind of torment and what amount of bodily suffering deserves the name of torture?

The French Consul Monsieur Ratti Menton, denies that the prisoners were ever tortured in his presence. This he solemnly denies, one of the unfortunate Jews has a cord tied round his head, and gradually tightened, till the eyes to his agonized feelings were ready to start out of their sockets, and in the exaggerated language of the people of his nation, I may add, in the naturally exaggerated terms of men writing to their friends and brethren, in the extremest terror, and in the midst of the persecution raging amongst them, the cord was tightened till the eyes of the wretched man started from his head. But Monsieur Ratti Menton

triumphantly points out the victim after the infliction of the torture, and proves to the satisfaction of his friends, that the man is not blind, that his eyes are not literally protruded from their sockets, and therefore, there is no truth in the statement. Nevertheless, this cruel torture was applied, and other applications of the gradually tightened cord, where the agony of the infliction was still more excruciating followed; but the language of terror is not sufficiently precise in declaring the effects, and therefore, the sufferings themselves are sought to be discredited by the French Consul.

He denies that he was present when any tortures were inflicted, but the bastinado is not torture in the opinion of this gentleman, and the prisoners were bastinadoed, not once, nor twice, but frequently in his presence, but, nevertheless, they were not tortured.

Yet, four of these unfortunate men died under the punishment, they were bastinadoed to death; but according to M. Ratti Menton's enlightened views, they were not tortured.

It was the policy of Napoleon's government to support official men in any dilemma they might get into, to the greatest possible extent. M. Thiers it is well known, is an ardent admirer of the *imperial regime*, and he is said by those who know him well,

to believe, he is carrying out the views of the great man he so much idolized, in giving the strongest support to the agents of his government in foreign countries, in whatever trouble they may get into, that are not prejudicial to the policy of their superiors. On this principle, Monsieur Thiers has had the courage to countenance the conduct of M. Ratti Menton, and to take upon his ministerial character, a weight of infamy, which would be quite sufficient to crush the reputation of any subordinate official agent.

Acting on this principle, he has placed the Consul-general at Alexandria; a gentleman, generally and otherwise deservedly respected, in the hard necessity of screening M. Ratti Menton from the opprobium that he knows would follow any legal investigation into the circumstances that have transpired at Damascus; a fact, sufficiently made evident to me by the influence of M. Cochelet, so successfully exerted to prevent the mission, obtaining the consent of Mohammed Ali, to proceed to Damascus, to enter on this investigation.

The miserable farce, of sending a subordinate agent of the French Consulate at Alexandria to Damascus, to inquire into the conduct of his superior there, terminated of course as it was expected to terminate; the subordinate extolled the

conduct of the superior, and was promoted for his discretion. The purpose of M. Thiers was served, he was able to say, he had sent M. Melvoise an official person to inquire into the proceedings of the Consul at Damascus, and he had made a report entirely exculpatory of M. Ratti Menton; but M. Thiers will probably omit to inform the French nation, that the subordinate in M. Cochelet's Consulate at Alexandria, was not suffered to return from Damascus to Alexandria, to make his report, where the influence of M. Ratti Menton could not reach the investigation, but was forthwith appointed to the Consulate of Beirout, and proceeded from the house of M. Ratti Menton at Damascus, to the post specially made vacant for him at Beirout, where M. Melvoise, now is, prematurely rewarded for the expected service of his forthcoming report.

I have now stated my opinion frankly on the subject of the charges brought against the Jews of Damascus. The result of the inquiries I had made into them, satisfied me of the innocence of the accused, and very heedless of exposing myself to censure in any quarter, while I believe I was doing my duty, only asserting the innocence of those persecuted men. I have expressed my opinion of the infamous conduct pursued by Monsieur Ratti

Menton in these proceedings, and perhaps, with more freedom, because I feel that his mode of protecting persons of our religion, was very much at variance with all my notions of its interests, as well as of its obligations.

I have not screened those of my own religion, where I thought they had deserved reproach; and in the same spirit of truth and freedom, I think it is my duty to state my impressions of the great evils that arise to the people of the Jewish persuasion in the East from their own intolerance—from their rigid separation from the society of their fellow-men of any other creed—from the exclusiveness of their dealings—from the seclusion of their families, and the strict avoidance of all circumstances that might tend to bring their children in contact with the children of people of other religions.

While this exclusive spirit keeps the Jews in the East isolated completely from their fellow-men; while their social system shuts out their females wholly from education, and their degraded condition in these countries where they are so oppressed, renders their public instruction defective in the extreme, and tends to give a preference for the love of the Talmud, and for the oriental casuistry of their disputative Rabbis, to any branch of useful knowledge, or to the higher doctrines of religion, and nobler

elements of truth; the Jewish people in the East, I fear, will stand in the back ground of society, with something in the very mysteriousness of their seclusion calculated to excite the suspicions of those who are strangers to them, and to turn the groundless misapprehensions of their unacquainted neighbours to secret animosity, and on any sudden occasion or extraordinary emergency, even to hatred and persecution.

This spirit, I am sorry to say, is fostered and encouraged by the Rabbins, and the evils of it are grievously felt, and even complained of loudly by the people.

At Smyrna, the exclusive dealing is carried to such a pitch, that the poor are actually compelled to pay considerably more than the market price for their meat; and because the Rabbins will not suffer any competition with certain favourite slaughterers, the poor are obliged to buy from the butchers, who have the monoply from the priests, of supplying the Jewish population.

The same intolerant spirit in Smyrna, and elsewhere in Turkey, excludes Jewish children from all schools which are not singularly privileged.

Gentlemen of intelligence of the Jewish persuasion,—and amongst others, Mr. Davis, a merchant of Rhodes,—are fully acquainted with the

evils arising from this anti-social and, if I may use the term, anti-civilizing system, and such enlightened and noble-minded men as Sir Moses Montefiore, have endeavoured to establish schools for Jewish children in Syria and Egypt, on a better system of education, but the usage of the country is alleged as a reason for still confining their advantages to male children; and I fear altogether their success has not been such as to render efforts for the improvement of the Jewish people in the East still unnecessary, far from it.

I take it that the good people of all religions would be glad to see those who differed from them in their creed, civilized and advanced in knowledge, and raised in the scale of human beings; whether with reference to their greater fitness for the reception of the highest truths, or even with respect to the humanizing influence of education, and its effects on society at large.

It surely is the duty of the enlightened and affluent of every class, who are opposed to the efforts of another for their improvement, to leave no exertions of their own untried to communicate those advantages they have derived from education to their brethren, whether at home or abroad, who stand in need of their assistance; and I would respectfully suggest to that most benevolent

portion of the Jewish people in Great Britain, who are blessed with the means of doing good, and are foremost in every work of charity, that the state of education among the Jews in the Levant is such, as to call for their assistance; and I earnestly recommend to them to send out a mission to the East, to inquire into the state of education in those countries, and to suggest the means best calculated to improve it, and thereby to elevate the Jewish people in those countries, and prevent their continuing to be the victims either of ignorance or persecution.

LETTER XX.

Dr. Grassi—His opinion respecting contagion or non-contagion entitled to great respect—Clot Bey on the same subject—Quarantine regulations injurious to commerce, and unnecessary—Testimony of an official at Malta—Alteration in the time of quarantine recommended—Table exhibiting the progress and decrease of the plague in the Lazaretto, at Alexandria.

PLAGUE AT ALEXANDRIA IN 1840.

THE following table was drawn up for me by Dr. Grassi, a few months ago, detailing the number of cases of plague of the last season, the mortality and monthly returns of the numbers received in the plague hospital of Alexandria. This gentleman, when I first visited Egypt, fifteen years ago, was the medical attendant of the plague hospital of Alexandria, and I found him last year in the same employment. He has probably seen more of this disease than any medical man in the East, he is a man of good observation, a plain practical man of strong sound sense, and one whose opinion on the subject of contagion or non-contagion, deserves more attention than that of any man alive. Dr. Grassi believes that the plague is contagious, and it seems

to me impossible for any man in his senses to hear Grassi's opinions given on this subject—opinions founded on experience alone, and the strong arguments and facts which he brings forward in support of those opinions, and not conceive with him, that this disease is propagated from one person to another, and that the separation of the sound from the sick, is requisite to prevent the disease from spreading through the community. Clot Bey has written, recently, a large work on this subject, in which he controverts these opinions, but he has proved nothing, and his opinions are not those of a practical observer of this disease.

The inferences that are to be deduced from the accompanying tables, and the opinions that I have noticed, are of more practical value than a volume of theories.

The injury done to commerce, and the inconvenience to which travellers are put by quarantine regulations are, no doubt, very great in the Levant, and no doubt to a very great extent, most needlessly and uselessly inflicted. The term of quarantine for twenty, thirty, or forty days, I firmly believe, in no case is required.

It is the opinion of Dr. Grassi, and of all the physicians in Egypt, who are supporters of the opinions of the contagious nature of the plague,

that the miasma is incapable of lurking in a state of inactivity in goods or clothes for a period exceeding ten days. I have carefully perused the evidence of these physicians, given in the form of queries, addressed to them on this subject; and it appears that not one of them ever knew the disease clearly propagated by contagion, after a period of twenty days from the time of contact with a diseased person. I particularly questioned the gentleman at the head of the quarantine department in Malta, a person of the highest respectability, and of very long experience on this subject, and I found his belief identical with that of Grassi, as to the contagion of the plague; but he had never known a single case of plague being communicated, or having taken place in the Lazaretto, from contact with persons or goods coming from infected places, though both the clothes of the passengers and the goods that are placed in quarantine in Malta, must be examined and handled by the guardians of the Lazaretto, so that it is clearly evident that the long quarantine performed here was unnecessary; and that a period of eight or ten days' quarantine, would have been quite sufficient to have preserved the island from all risk of contagion, from any vessel coming from the infected places in Turkey or Egypt, as

no case of plague has ever been known to have broken out within that period amongst those in quarantine. I purposely avoid multiplying words no this subject, I have stated facts which ought to be brought to notice, and acted on.

The time of quarantine in the Mediterranean ought to be limited to ten days at the farthest, and beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, any period of quarantine is unnecessary:—

TABLE

Exhibiting the Progress and Decrease of the Plague.

January, received	5
February ,,	15
March ,,	57
April ,,	179
May ,,	162
June ,,	48
July ,,	27
August ,,	2
In the Plague Hospital of the Lazaretto.....Total	495

In the City, the Port, and the Suburbs of Alexandria, about 1000 cases more.

HOSPITAL OF THE LAZARETTO OF HIS HIGHNESS AT ALEXANDRIA.

Discriminating Statement of the Individuals sick of the Plague, received into said Hospital, from the 14th of January to the 11th of August, 1840.

Description of the Individuals.	No. reed.	Of whom.		
		Died.	Recovered.	Convalescent.
Individuals of His Highness's squadron (fleet)	87	35	51	1
Ditto.....the Grand Signior's ditto	13	9	4	0
Ditto.....His Highness's Arsenal	113	60	51	2
Pupils in the Naval School.....	5	3	2	0
Official Employés	4	2	1	1
Officers of the 33rd Regiment	2	2	0	0
Privates of the 33rd Regiment	78	16	62	0
Privates of the Regiment of Sappers..	12	10*	1	1
Officers of the Artillery	1	0	1	0
Privates of Artillery.....	16	7	9	0
Servants of the Ambulatory Hospital of the Artillery	1*	1	0	0
Soldiers of the Sanatory Guard.....	6†	2	4	0
Individuals belonging to various Establishments	11‡	6	5	0
Galley Slaves in the Arsenal.....	1	1	0	0
Arabs, not military.....	122§	67	55	0
Levantines and Copts.....	6	4	2	0
Greeks.....	10‖	9	1	0
Europeans.....	7¶	2	5	0
Total	495	236	254	5

N. B.—In the number of deaths are included nineteen individuals, who died while recovering from the plague, through a complication of other disorders, and sixty-seven who died within the first twenty-four hours—namely, forty-three before the firstmorning visit, and twenty-four after the first.

Done this 5th day of September, 1840.

FRANCISCO LOMBARDO, Apothecary.

Inspected and verified by the undersigned head physician of the Sanatory Establishment, and physician of the aforesaid Hospital.

DR. JS. GRASSI.

* Attacked in the Hospital of the Lazaretto, whilst in attendance on the patients sick of the plague.

† One of whom was attacked in the Lazaretto.

‡ Five of whom were attacked in the Hospital of the Lazaretto, whilst attending on those sick of the plague.

§ Forty-five of whom were attacked in the Lazaretto, namely, thirty-eight from among the attendants, and one laundress of the Plague Hospital, six porters, three conveyers of the infected, two cleansers of infected clothes, and one purifier of goods.

‖ Of whom two chief guards were attacked in the Lazaretto.

¶ Five of whom were attacked in the Lazaretto, three officers, and two chief guards.

LETTER XXI.

French Packet Service—A Lieutenant, formerly captain of a slaver, his opinion of slavery and the slave-trade—On war with England, and the state of the English Navy—The Oriental steamer—The Great Liverpool—Times of departure and arrivals—Extraordinary precision—Expense of passage—Mode of conveyance—Mr. Waghorn's establishments—Conveyance of parcels and charges—Regulations for their transit—And for visiting Oporto, Cadiz, Gibraltar, &c.—Route via Marseilles, preferable for scenery—That by Liverpool for saving of time—Mr. Waghorn's opinion of the practicability of greatly lessening the period between England and Bombay—Size, cost, speed, and consumption of coals of the Oriental—Contract with government for carrying the mails—Conclusion.

OVERLAND COMMUNICATION WITH INDIA.

On my return from Alexandria, I embarked on board a French Man of War packet steamer, the Tancrede for Malta, via Syra. The distance is 450 miles, and the passage money fifty-six dollars, and six francs a day for table expenses. The packets of this service from Marseilles to Alexandria, touching at Leghorn, Civita, Mecckea, Naples, Malta and Syra, on the outward voyage, are well found, well manned, and kept up for political objects, at a great expense to the French government: the

passage money goes but a very short way towards meeting the cost of this service. The Tancrede has fifty men and ten officers, and is furnished with English engineers. Some of these packet vessels are officered by merchant captains, on board of one of them, an officer doing the duty of a lieutenant informed me, that he had been for many years in the Guinea trade, that he had been a captain of a French slaver, so late as the year 1820. I find in a memorandum of this circumstance taken at the time of meeting with him, the following account of his opinions of the slave-trade, and of war with England;—this gentleman vigorously defends the slave trade, he speaks with the utmost enthusiasm of the blessings of slavery. He speaks in terms of the greatest indignation of the efforts of Great Britain for the abolition of slavery, and says, "that slavery is the sister of commerce, and the trade in slaves, the root and branch of all colonial prosperity; and the sole motive of the British government for abolishing slavery, was the ruin of the West Indies, and the benefit of her East India possessions. He denies that the slave trade is attended with any injury or injustice to the people of Africa; on the contrary, it is conferring the blessings of civilization and of religion upon them." So much for the just and enlightened views of this worthy gentle-

man on slavery and the slave trade. On war with England, he says, "he is no lover of strife, he dislikes bloodshed, but the time is come, when France must go to war with England, and for his part, he would give his right hand for a war with England at once! He has no doubt of the result—the English navy is no longer what it was; its '*morale*' is gone, it is quite 'demoralized' by being demoralized, he means, the progress of liberal opinions, has given habits of thinking, and notions of liberty to the men which is subversive of all discipline, and the officers have no longer any control over the men, because they know only one mode of maintaining authority, and that is force; whereas the French, enforce their authority by conciliatory means, and by kindness of manner to the men under their control. The result must be, that England will lose the sovereignty of the sea, and her dominion must be confined to its natural bounds, to her own islands, and to these only."

This officer was a middle aged man, these opinions were soberly and seriously expressed, and he argued, in support of them, as rationally, or at least as collectedly, as any man could do on wrong data, who was sane on other points, and had a twist on one or two which a great many people out of Bedlam, now in France, have on these particular subjects.

Till last September, all persons coming from or going to India by the overland route, via Alexandria, were obliged to take their passage in these packets outwards from Marseilles to Alexandria, and homewards from Alexandria to Marseilles. The price of passage 280 francs from Marseilles to Malta, and six francs a day for table expenses. Now the passage is direct from Alexandria to Liverpool, and from the latter to Egypt, by the Oriental Company's Mail Packet Steamers, and having returned by the Oriental from Malta, I can speak from experience, of the great accommodation and convenience, which this line of British steamers affords to persons going to or coming from Egypt. The "Oriental," the first of the line for the conveyance of the India and other mails, arrived at Malta from England on the 12th of September, having left Falmouth on the 2nd instant, and Gibraltar on the 7th insant. As a model of naval architecture, she can hardly be surpassed by any vessel; and for her internal arrangements, nothing can exceed the splendour of her "fittings up," and the comfort that is afforded to her passengers. She is of less tonnage than the British Queen and the President. The former being of 2018 tons, and 520 horse-power; the latter 2400 tons, and 600 horse-power. The Oriental is 1673 tons by mea-

surement, with engines of 450 horse-power, she is frigate-built and rigged as a three-masted, or hermaphrodite schooner. The upper deck affords an uninterrupted walk of 200 feet in length. The saloon is a splendid room, seventy feet in length and twenty-one in width, beautifully decorated, and the sides ornamented with panels of paper machié. A double row of tables afford accommodation for 120 persons at dinner. The lower after-cabins are under the saloon. She is furnished with hot, cold, and shower baths, with ice-houses, wine cellars for 400 dozen of wine; work shops, bakers'-rooms, and culinary offices on an extensive scale! She has four patent pumps, in the event of a leak, capable of throwing out 200 gallons of water per minute; and is, moreover, divided into compartments by iron shields or bulkheads, by which a leak in any part of the vessel is confined to one compartment only. She is fitted up in case of need, to be armed with four sixty-eight pounders, beside broadside guns; and sails under a pennant, with a lieutenant in the navy in charge of the mails. The next vessel of the Oriental Steam Company, in point of size and accommodation, is the great Liverpool, of 1540 tons, and of 464 horse-power. The communication is to be kept up by monthly voyages, to and from Egypt. The voyage is to be accomplished in fourteen days.

One will sail on the first of every month from Liverpool, or Southampton, touch at Falmouth for the mails on the second; on the seventh arrive at Gibraltar, remain there five or six hours; arrive at Malta on the eleventh, and remain there twenty-four hours, and arrive at Alexandria on the 15th instant. The departure from Alexandria, will be between the 20th and 25th of each month, (her departure depending on the arrival of the East India mail from Suez at Alexandria. The mails between the Ionian islands and Malta, will be conveyed by steamers of a smaller size, and brought home by the "Oriental" and "Liverpool."

Of the extraordinary precision with which steam communication is now carried on, we had a tolerably good proof on the arrival of the Oriental, at Falmouth, on her return from Egypt; she was due at two o'clock on the day of our arrival, and we were at anchor in that port within an hour and a quarter of the appointed time, after running a distance, outward and homeward, of about six thousand two hundred miles; her average speed is nine miles an hour, and by her contract she is bound to make her voyage at that rate of speed. The terms of passage, wines, and provisions included, are, from England to Alexandria, in the first cabin, £45; from England to Malta, £33; from Malta to Alex-

andria, £12; in the second cabin, without wines, the terms are about one-third less; children under ten years of age pay half the above rates, under three are not charged.

The great advantage of this route is the avoidance of quarantine, the time occupied in the passage home is allowed to count in the quarantine, the period of which, at Malta, varies from twenty-one to twenty-five days under ordinary circumstances, from Egypt. From Bombay to Suez, passengers are conveyed by a line of steamers at the rate of £80.

There are deck passages at £60 from Suez, but none are granted until all the cabins are filled up. The fare in the Red Sea Steamers for

Children of 10 years of age is	400	Rupees.
5 and not 10 "	300	"
under 5 "	200	"
European Servants . .	100	"
Native ditto . .	50	"

but no poor Europeans are taken as servants, unless doing actual duty as such, for passengers on board. The expense from Bombay to Calcutta averages £65, and is a fortnight's journey.

Passages from London to Bombay may be accomplished economically for about £100; but with comfort, the expense for gentlemen averages £140, and for ladies, £145, divided in the following proportions:

Fare to Alexandria .	£45
Expenses in Egypt, &c.	15
Passage money from Suez to Bombay .	80
	£140

On the passage outwards from Alexandria, passengers are conveyed to Atfé on the Nile, by track boats, on the canal of Alexandria, a distance of forty-five miles. At Atfé a steamer is stationed on the Nile, by which the passengers proceed to Cairo, a distance of about eighty miles. The time occupied in this part of the journey, varies according to the state of the Nile; but is generally performed in from eighteen to twenty-four hours. From Cairo to Suez and *vice versâ*, a distance of seventy-four miles; the journey is performed in carriages, donkey chairs, on camels, or on horseback, according to the choice of the traveller. The time usually required for passing between Cairo and Suez, including a reasonable time for repose at the station houses on the road, where beds, refreshments, &c., will be found, is from sixteen to twenty-four hours. Arrangements are in progress, which will still further improve the transit through Egypt.

At Mr. Waghorn's establishments in Alexandria, Cairo, and Suez, passengers are provided with all the necessaries for their travelling in Egypt, and or this object they are requested to give some

previous notice of their expected arrival in Egypt. It is greatly to be regretted that there is no steam communication between Suez, and Calcutta and Madras; and that the communication that does exist between Bombay and Suez, is not sufficiently economical or commodious to be available as it might and ought to be. The Oriental Steam Company have made preparations for fitting out three steam ships for the Suez line, to Ceylon, Madras, and Calcutta, the accomplishment of this project is greatly to be desired.

At Cairo, a spacious and comfortable hotel has been fitted up by Mr. Waghorn, which, from my own experience, I can say deserves every encouragement; at Mr. Waghorn's establishments, parcels can be forwarded to India at the following charges:—

By *Express* through Egypt.

To be conveyed with the Mails from London to Bombay, average 35 days.

	£	s.	d.	
Anything under 8 ozs. . . .	0	1	6	per oz.
From 8 to 16 ozs. . . .	0	1	0	,,
" 1 " 5 lbs.	0	10	0	per lb.
" 5 " 10	0	8	6	"
" 10 " 20	0	7	0	"
" 20 " 30	0	5	6	"
" 30 " 35 beyond which weight none can be received	0	3	0	"

By *Economical Carriage* through Egypt.

To be conveyed from Suez with the Mails of the following month, from London to Bombay, average 65 days.

	£	s.	d.	
Anything under 8 ozs. . .	0	1	0	per oz.
From 8 to 16 ozs. . . .	0	0	9	"
" 1 " 5 lbs. . . .	0	7	0	"
" 5 " 10 . . .	0	6	6	"
" 10 " 20	0	5	6	"
" 20 " 30 . . .	0	4	6	"
" 30 " 35 beyond which weight none can be received	0	2	6	"

Valuable articles of jewellery, &c. &c., to be paid for according to agreement, as W. & Co. will not be answerable in case of loss, for any parcel beyond the value of £10, unless a special entry be made at the time of registry, and charges paid accordingly.

Parcels subject to duty at Bombay, will be released from the Custom House there by his agent, who will inform each party, by letter, the expense thereof, that the same may be repaid to him. All dues in Egypt will be defrayed out of the original charges paid in England; and they will be responsible for the *safe delivery* of all parcels entrusted to their care, except damage be sustained

by the act of God, the Queen's enemies, fire on shore or afloat, or other dangers and accidents of the seas, rivers, or steam navigation.

No parcel is to contain letters, bills, or money, and the *contents and value* must be *legibly marked on the outer cover.*

All parcels are to be brought to these offices for registry before six o'clock in the evening of the last day of each month, or the day before, if possible.

No parcels will be taken charge of at Alexandria, except they bear the mark of their respective Agents, at Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Southampton, or Falmouth, because it will be impossible to obtain the same quick enough (to go on with the mails) from the steamers through the Alexandria Custom House, unless they appear in their own registers, or those of their agents.

By the present means, passengers for India may without extraordinary exertion reach Suez in time to embark with the mails in the East India Company's steamers for Bombay. The steamer from England will in general arrive at Alexandria on the 15th or 16th of the month, and as the steamer from Bombay does not usually arrive at Suez, until from the 20th to the 25th of the month, sufficient leisure for visiting the Pyramids, &c. &c. will be afforded

In the Oriental Company's vessels, passengers are allowed five cwt. of luggage. They must have their names and places of destination distinctly marked on the same, and reduce to the smallest quantity, and most compact form, such indispensable articles as they may require to have constantly in their cabins: the remainder marked "*Below*," that it may be deposited in the baggage room, where access can be had to it. The Company do not hold themselves liable for any damage or loss of baggage, nor for unavoidable delays, accidents, fire, steam, or sea risks of any kind whatsoever.

Passengers for India, who may desire to visit Spain and Portugal, will have the privilege, free of additional expense, of proceeding in any of the Company's weekly Peninsular mail steamers; and may thus visit Vigo, Oporto, Lisbon and Cintra, Cadiz, Seville, Gibraltar, Algesiras, &c., joining the India mail steamer for Malta and Alexandria, at Gibraltar the 5th of the month.

Steam vessels regularly leave Suez monthly for Bombay, except in July and August, (S. W. monsoon), when they only run to Aden, the mails and passengers in those months being taken thence in sailing vessels.

With respect to the relative advantages of the route via Marseilles, Malta, and Syra, to Alexan-

dria, and the direct one from Liverpool to Egypt, the former is the most desirable for those who object to the Atlantic sea passage; but it occupies twenty-four days, while the latter is accomplished in fourteen or fifteen. The route by Marseilles may be the most economical, but the difference is very trifling. By this route, the traveller may enjoy a sight of Bouloune, Paris, Chalons, Lyons, Marseilles, Leghorn, Civita Vecchia, Naples, Malta, Syra, and Alexandria, as well as of Etna, Vesuvius and Stromboli, Pompeii, and Herculaneum, of the Straits of Messina, and feast his imagination with the poetical terrors of Scylla and Charbydis. In proceeding to Syra, he will have an opportunity of seeing the Isles of Greece, and of passing amidst the most beautiful and famous of them.

It is the opinion of Mr. Waghorn, that the communication between England and Bombay, may be accomplished in thirty-two days, and with Calcutta in forty-two days, by way of Egypt: I believe it is possible. I know if the Oriental had been "pushed harder," and her delays considerably reduced at Malta and Gibraltar, she might have returned to England in twelve days and a-half without much difficulty.

The success of these large steamers in voyages of considerable length, is a question of such interest at

this time, that I think the following details of her size, cost, speed, and consumption of coals, which I obtained from the most authentic sources on board, when I returned in her last October, may be found worthy of attention :—

The Oriental was built at Liverpool, by W. and T. Wilson, and was launched in April, 1840.

She cost about £75,000 sterling.

Her burden is 1673 tons.

Her size is that of a first-class frigate.

Her average speed is nine miles an hour.

She carries two engines of 450 horse-power the two.

The stroke of the engine is seven feet, fourteen revolutions of the engines in a minute at nine knots speed.

Her average consumption of coal is thirty tons a day.

Her total consumption of coal to Alexandria from England and back again, was 900 tons.

The value of this coal is 10*s.* 6*d.* per ton at Liverpool; and at Malta more than double that sum.

The distance from Liverpool to Alexandria, is 3160 miles.

She performed this voyage outward in fourteen days and a-half, and homeward in fifteen.

The average length of this voyage in a merchant-sailing vessel, is between six and seven weeks.

The crew of the Oriental consists of twelve men before the mast. Her officers six. Ditto petty officers three. Her servants, stewards, waiters, cooks, baker and butcher, seventeen men. Her engineers four, and eighteen stokers or firemen. Total number of officers, crew, engineers, and servants, including five apprentices, seamen, sixty-five.

The total wages of these men per day, I was not able to ascertain.

The consumption of oil for the machinery and lamps of engine room, &c., is several gallons per day.

The accommodation for first class passengers, cabin berths 110.

Ditto for second rate passengers, 24.

The total number of berths is 134.

Price of passage to Egypt, 1st class passengers, found in everything, wines, &c., £45 sterling.

Ditto for 2nd passage, ditto, ditto, £30 sterling,

Length of the vessel on upper deck 214 feet.

Breadth—a beam ditto . . .	36 feet 6 in.
Depth from upper deck to the kelson,	27 „ 6 „
Circumference of wheels . . .	71 „
Diameter of ditto	27 „
Length of grand saloon . . .	64 „
Breadth of ditto	21 „

Weight of engines and boilers 500 tons.

Number of 1st class passengers outward on 1st voyage, 63.

Number of 1st class passengers homeward on 1st voyage, 24.

Number of 2nd class passengers outward on 1st voyage, 6.

Number of 2nd class passengers homeward on 1st voyage, 5.

Quantity of sheets, towels, and table cloths, aboard.

Sheets 400 pair.

Towels 2000.

Table cloths 120, each 20 feet.

The government has entered into a contract with the Company, to carry the mails for six years to Gibraltar, Malta, and Alexandria, chiefly with the view of carrying the overland Indian mail, that pass through Egypt to Suez, and from Suez by steam boats on the Red Sea to India—and for this service to pay for the first year £38,000—for the second year £36,000—for the third year £35,000—for the fourth year £34,000—for the fifth year £33,000 sterling, and for the sixth year £32,000. They stipulate that not less than two steamers of 400 horse-power each be employed, and one smaller to ply between the Ionian islands and

Malta. That the voyage to Gibraltar from Falmouth, be accomplished within 120 hours, and from Gibraltar to Malta in 116 hours, and from Malta to Alexandria in 96 hours. In the present voyage outward and homeward, the extraordinary precision of steam-boat communication was experienced.

The Oriental arrived at Falmouth on the 8th instant, after a run outward and homeward of 6,000 miles and upwards, within one hour of her appointed time, and in advance of it. The conveyance of the mails to be monthly. Here are subjects enough to think of, in connexion with those of the safety, the speed, and the expense of steam-boat communications with distant lands.

In the present voyage, the passengers who came by steam from Bombay to Suez, and then overland to Alexandria, and who embarked on board the Oriental at the latter port for England—arrived at Falmouth from the period of their departure from Bombay, in the wonderfully short space of forty days and ten hours, being the shortest time ever known of communication between India and England, via Alexandria, Malta and Gibraltar. I need hardly add, that a voyage to India by the Cape of Good Hope of one hundred days, is considered a short one.

ARABIC WORDS AND THEIR DERIVATES IN COMMON USE.

Alcahest, Arab. a universal cymical dissolvent.

Alcaide, Span. and Arab. Governor of a fort, or civil magistrate of a town.

Alcove, Span. and Arab. a recess in a room, Span. Alchoa, or hidden art.

Alembic, Arab. a chemical vessel for distillation.

Algebra, Arab. the reduction of parts to a whole, or of fractions to a whole number. Richardson has given the Arabic word incorrectly.

Alkali, Arab. the ashes of an Egyptian plant called kali or glass-wort, from which alkali is obtained, from Arabic word to fry; the name of a peculiar class of chemical substances.

Alkermes, Arab. a cordial medicine made with Kermes.

Alkimia, Arab. from art El and Kimia secret.

Alkoran, Arab. a reading, with article the, the sacred book of the Mohammedans. Also called koran, q. v.

Allah, Arab. the Divine Being.

Almagest, Arab. magest, the greatest with article the; the name of an astronomical work by Ptolemy.

Almanac, Arab. a diary, calendar, with article the.

Almendra, Span. and Arab. the Almond

Almiral, Arab. Admiral, compounded of the article El and the word Emir Prince.

Assassin, Arab. from hashisheen, a furious, quarrelsome person: hashis is a preparation made for smoking, chiefly consisting of the pistils of the hemp plant, a powerful stimulant and narcotic. The common people in Egypt smoke it a great deal. The effect is to pro-

duce delirious drunkenness, in the paroxysm of which, the person frequently commits violent acts, and is called from the plant he smokes. The Assassins of Syria in ancient times, or followers of the old men of the mountain, derived their name from the same source.

Cadi, Arab. a judge, to decide, judge; among the Mohammedans, an inferior judge. This word is not to be confounded with alcaid, which has an entirely different origin.

Caliph, Arab. khalipha, a successor, vicegerent, to succeed; a title given to the successors of Mohammed.

Chimistry, Arab. kimia, as if the hidden art, from verb to hide; the science which teaches the nature of bodies. In usage it is distinguished from alchimy, q. v.

Coffee, Arab. kahwa, wine, also a decoction of coffee, from verb conj. iv. to drink frequently; the name of a berry, and of a drink made from it,

Cohol, Arab. with the art. El, our Alcohol Eohol is the Antimonial substance used by the women in the East for painting their eyes. Many vain efforts at the distillation of spirits, in which Kohol had been infused, ended in the untractable mineral, giving the name to the menstruum.

Cotton, Arab. codon, tunic, a soft downy substance obtained from a plant called El Codon.

Dragoman, Arab. targoman, an interpreter, from verb to interpret.

Emir, Arab. a commander, prince, from verb to command.

Fetwa, Arab. a legal decision or answer, from verb to give a legal decision; a written decision of the mufti.

Hajji, Arab. a pilgrim to Mecca, from verb to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Harem, Arab. a sanctuary, a woman's apartment, from verb to prohibit; in the East, the woman's apartment.

Hegira, Arab. hijra, flight, leaving one's country, from verb to fly; the flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina, from which the Mohammedans reckon time.

Imam, Arab. a priest, from verb to go before, to lead in sacred rites; a Mohammedan priest. The form iman is incorrect.

Islam, Arab. liter. devotion or submission to God and his prophet Mohammed, hence the Mohammedan religion, from verb to submit to God; Comp. Moslem and Mussulman, which are from the same root.

Islamism, the preceding word with the Greek termination ism.

Kebla, Arab. the region in front of a person, the direction of a person's face in prayer, from verb to meet; the direction of a person's face in prayer.

Koran, in usage the same as Alkoran, q. v.

Mamluk, Arab. possessed, a slave; pass. part. from verb to possess, rule in the east, a kind of mercenary soldier.

Minaret, Arab. a place for a light, the turret of a Mohammedan temple, from verb to shine: the tower of a Mohammedam temple.

Mohammed, Arab. praised, also Mohammed, from verb to praise; the proper name of the Arabian impostor.

Molla, Arab. maula, a president, lord, from verb to preside, govern: among the Mohammedans, a superior judge.

Mosk, Arab. masjid, a temple from verb to incline the head, to worship; a Mohammedan temple.

Moslem, Arab. one devoted to God and his prophet Mohammed, a Mohammedan, from verb to submit to God; comp. islam above; a Mohammedan.

Mufti, Arab. one who decides cases of Mohammedan law, from verb to give a legal decision; comp. fetwa above; in Turkey, the chief minister of religion and law.

Musulman, the Persian form of the Arabic word moslem. The plural form musulmen has arisen from mistake and is incorrect.

Rais, Arab. a captain from verb to be head or chief; in the East, the captain of a ship.

Ramadan, Arab. the month of fasting among the Arabians.

Sheik, Arab. an old man, also a name of office, to be old; among the Arabians and Moors, a man of eminence.

Sherif, Arab. noble, from verb to be noble; a title of honour given to the descendants of Mohammed.

Sultan, Arab. a prince, ruler, from verb to rule; the title of the emperor of Turkey.

Vizier, Arab. liter. one loaded with business, from verb to bear; among the Mohammedans, a minister of state.

Wadi, Arab. a torrent or a bed of a river.

For most of the preceding words and their derivations, I am indebted to my friend Mr. Gibbs, the professor of Oriental literature in the Newhaven University, in the United States, whose knowledge of the Arabic language and its dialects, I had the honour of appreciating at the trial of the unfortunate negroes of the Amistad, so scandalously treated by the American authorities; and most especially by the president, Mr. Martin Van Buren, whose conduct in this business would be sufficient in Europe to ruin the character of any man, however high his station, for it amounts to a falsification of public documents, presented to Congress by his orders. This falsification consists in rendering the Spanish term, "Ladino," a sound slave; whereas, evidence was given on the trial, that it meant, a legally held slave, or one long settled in Cuba, and acclimated there, and having given this evidence myself, and fully explained the nature of it to Mr. Martin Van Buren, himself, at Washington. There is no doubt in my mind of this falsification of public papers, a thing unprecedented on the part of any European government in recent times, having been made for the purpose of shewing that these newly imported African slaves described by the Governor of Cuba, in the passports granted for their removal after sale, as "ladinos" or legally held slaves, in contradistinction to "bozal," or illegally introduced slaves, were really what they were stated to be, but proved not to have been, and therefore the word *sound* is introduced, and coined for the occasion, it was supposed, by the orders of the President of the United States, or at all events with his connivance, for

the express purpose of having it in his power to hand over forty odd wretched negroes of the Amistad, to the tender mercies of the Spanish government, or rather of the Cuban slave-dealers, and their protector, the Governor at the Havana.

I trust, I will be pardoned for introducing this matter here—irrevalently no doubt—but is extremely revalent at the present moment, to the case of these poor men, whose cause is again coming before a legal tribunal in America; and surely it would have been unpardonable in me not to have taken the only, perhaps, the last opportunity that may be afforded me of bringing it before the public notice.

JOHNSTON AND BARRETT, PRINTERS, MARK-LANE.

00143224

Digitized with financial assistance from
Ms.Vaidehi Thakar
on 06 November, 2019